

SPECIAL ISSUE

CANADA'S

INSIDE

RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS: A MEMOIR

HISTORY

FORMERLY THE BEAVER

VIMY AT
100
1917-2017

VIMY

THE SACRIFICES. THE MONUMENT. THE LEGACY.

BY TIM COOK



MONTREAL 375: A REMARKABLE TALE OF SURVIVAL



CANADASHISTORY.CA | APRIL-MAY 2017

VIMY 100 IN THE CLASSROOM



THE VIMY FOUNDATION
LA FONDATION VIMY

With the support from

Tim Hortons

ATTENTION TEACHERS: COMMEMORATE BATTLE OF VIMY RIDGE CENTENNIAL

NEW FREE LEARNING TOOLS NOW AVAILABLE FOR YOUR CLASSROOM AT

vimyfoundation.ca/programs/vimy-100-in-the-classroom/



The Vimy Foundation works to preserve and promote Canada's First World War history. The centennial anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge in April 2017 provides an opportunity to remember the legacy of Vimy Ridge, to spread awareness of Canada's coming-of-age on the global stage, and to celebrate our identity and pride to be Canadian.

Find out more about the Vimy Foundation's ongoing education and awareness-building programs on our website and please donate now to support this work.



THE VIMY FOUNDATION
LA FONDATION VIMY

With the support from

Tim Hortons

VIMYFOUNDATION.CA





38

FEATURES

22 Ghosts of Vimy

On the hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, we reflect on the Canadian National Vimy Memorial in France, a creation so large and so powerful that it seems almost un-Canadian. Plus, the soldiers who served and sacrificed at Vimy, and what the battle means to Canadians today. *by Tim Cook and Kate Jaimet.*

38 Lost Generations

An Inuk artist reflects on the dark legacy of residential schools in the Far North. *by Mary Carpenter.*

44 Montréal 375

Stories of the colourful history of North America's francophone metropolis as it celebrates a landmark year. *by Darren Bonaparte, Mathieu Drouin, John Kalbfleisch, and Jean-Philippe Proulx.*



On the cover

A colorized and cropped version of a photograph of the crowd gathered at the unveiling of the Vimy Memorial in France on July 26, 1936. The original photo is from the George Metcalf Archival Collection at the Canadian War Museum.

CONTENTS

DEPARTMENTS

10 The Packet Safe haven. Sobering bear facts. Grin and bare it. Beyond a nuisance. The Habs and the had nots. Straight shooter.

13 Currents Where art is a family affair. Celebrating a half century of the Canada Games. A woman of note. Manitoba town's novel name. Flight of a lifetime at Vimy Ridge.

19 Christopher Moore Why do women trail men when it comes to winning awards for academic history writing in Canada?

20 Trading Post Bandler bag. Plus stories from more than nine decades of *The Beaver* magazine.

62 Destinations Griffintown, Montréal's historic Irish neighbourhood, is enjoying a renaissance.

64 Books Open book: Excerpt from *An Intimate Wilderness*. Reviews: Precarious homesteads. Charismatic pragmatist. Pacific harbour. More books: Inspired memorials, a shocking crime, letters home, surviving orca.

72 History Matters Our newly redesigned, mobile-friendly website will deliver Canada's stories in fresh and dynamic ways.

74 Album The mayor of Westmount, Quebec, makes a sweet gesture to Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip.

18 SUBSCRIBE

Save 46% on the retail price*
www.CanadasHistory.ca

*46% savings offer available on Canadian orders only



CANADA 150

COMING UP IN CANADA'S HISTORY

Canada 150 special issue

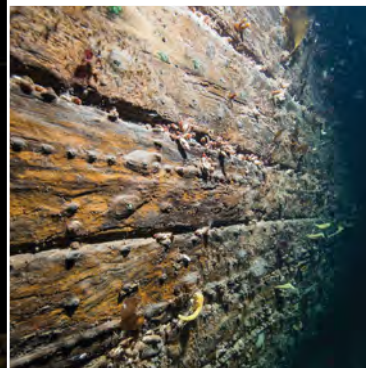
To mark the sesquicentennial of Confederation, we will explore the complex and sometimes contentious history of Canada. The centrepiece will be "The Big Questions of Canada," a special feature package by Adrienne Clarkson, Andrew Coyne, Roméo Dallaire, Merna Forster, Charlotte Gray, and Murray Sinclair.

SAIL THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE:

AN EXCLUSIVE VISIT TO THE WRECK OF THE *HMS EREBUS*
SEPTEMBER 7-23, 2017 ABOARD THE *OCEAN ENDEAVOUR*



ADVENTURE
CANADA



Images courtesy of Parks Canada

Adventure Canada is proud to partner with Parks Canada in celebration of our thirtieth year—and Canada's sesquicentennial—to present an unprecedented voyage of discovery to some of the nation's most remote national parks. We will be lucky enough to visit not just Qausuittuq, but also Sirmilik and Auyuittuq National Parks.

Parks Canada has also offered us a rare opportunity to visit the *HMS Erebus* site. Here, adventurous travelers may have a chance to snorkel over the wreck. Those not wanting to get in the water may be able to view the wreck on screen where a member of Parks Canada's Underwater Archaeology Team can interpret the wreck using an underwater remotely operated vehicle (ROV).

Join us next summer for a historic voyage
into the heart of Canadian history.



Parks
Canada

Parcs
Canada



CANADIAN SIGNATURE
EXPERIENCE
CANADIENNE DISTINCTIVE



1.800.363.7566
adventurecanada.com

14 Front Street South Mississauga, Ontario L5H 2C4 Canada TICO Reg# 4001400

WE ARE CANADA'S HISTORY

We share the stories of our diverse country across traditional and new media platforms.

We honour the multiple perspectives of history makers of yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

We are privileged to collaborate with national, regional, and territorial partners, and are grateful for those who support us with their subscriptions and donations.

Our past shapes our future.

in the company of ADVENTURERS

Canada's National History Society is pleased to welcome a new community of leading supporters in a bold new initiative to ensure that our country's remarkable past is shared and preserved.

Contributors in the company of *Adventurers* help us capitalize on existing assets; bolster our connections; strengthen our programming; advance multimedia projects; motivate future historians; and promote greater popular interest in Canadian history.

CANADA'S HISTORY

CANADASHISTORY.CA

President & CEO Janet Walker

**Editor-In-Chief & Director,
Content Development**
Mark Collin Reid

Senior Editor
Nelle Oosterom

Art Director
James Gillespie

Associate Editor
Phil Koch

Online Manager
Tanja Hütter

Online Assistant
Alison Nagy

Editorial Intern
Anna Volotovska

Publisher
Melony Ward

**Director, Finance &
Administration**
Patricia Gerow

Major Gifts Associate
Louise Humeniuk

Advertising Account Manager
Jillian Thorp-Shepherd
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

**Circulation &
Marketing Manager**
Danielle Chartier

Circulation Consultants
Scott Bullock, Circ3 Solutions
P.J. Brown, Etatech Consulting

Director of Programs
Joel Ralph

**Community Engagement
Coordinator (on leave)**
Joanna Dawson

**Interim Community
Engagement Coordinator**
Joanne DeCasse

**Education
& Outreach Coordinator**
Jean-Philippe Proulx

Graphic Designer
Andrew Workman

**Online Engagement
Coordinator**
Jessica Knapp

Program Assistant
Mathieu Drouin

Canada's History magazine was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1920 as *The Beaver: A Journal of Progress*. The HBC's commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, *CanadasHistory.ca*, and the Governor General's History Awards.



BOARD OF DIRECTORS

David Ross, *Chair*
W. John Bennett
Michèle Dagenais
Edward Kennedy
Stéphane Lévesque
Sharon McAuley
Ry Moran

Sasha Mullally
Dave Obee
Michael Rea
Stephen Thomas
Aritha van Herk
William Wicken

ADVISORY COUNCIL

E. James Arnett
A. Charles Baillie
J. Douglas Barrington
Elsa Franklin
Charlotte Gray
John Honderich

Gillian Manning
Don Newman
Peter C. Newman
H. Sanford Riley
Thomas H.B. Symons
Jane Urquhart

Founding Publisher
Rolph Huband
1929-2016

President Emeritus
Joseph E. Martin

SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES
Canada, \$32.95 (GST included).
Add \$10 a year for U.S. orders
Add \$18 for foreign orders

Phone: 1.888.816.0997
memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca
CanadasHistory.ca/subscribe
PO Box 118 Station Main
Markham, ON L3P 3J5

ISSN 1920-9894

ADVERTISING INQUIRIES
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

EDITORIAL ADDRESS
Bryce Hall Main Floor
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9
Phone: 1.888.816.0997
Fax: 204.988.9309
info@CanadasHistory.ca

©2017 Canada's History Society.
All rights reserved.

GST # 13868 1408 RT 0001

PRIVACY PREFERENCE
Occasionally, we provide our subscriber list to external organizations that have products or services of interest to our readers. If you do not wish to receive such communications, please contact Member Services memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca

Postmaster - Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Canada's History PO Box 118 Station Main, Markham, ON L3P 3J5

Postage paid in Winnipeg.
Publications Mail Agreement No. 40063001
Printed in Canada.



Funded by the
Government
of Canada

Financé par le
gouvernement
du Canada

Canada





CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

The importance of understanding ourselves by examining our history has been an anchoring belief of Canada's History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation's diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTOIRE CANADA

L'importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l'histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d'histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l'ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*, le magazine *Kayak*, *Navigue dans l'histoire du Canada*, le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général.



CANADA'S
HISTORY

HISTOIRE
CANADA

Kayak
CHILDREN



Momentous occasions

On April 9, more than fifty thousand people are expected to gather at the Vimy Memorial in France to mark the centennial of the start of the Battle of Vimy Ridge. A month later, Montréal will kick off a months-long celebration of its 375th birthday.

At first glance, these events seem to share little in common. But both are stories of survival against tremendous odds — and each event presents challenges regarding how best to commemorate it.

Capturing Vimy was a remarkable achievement — something neither the British nor the French were able to accomplish. The battle was the first time all four Canadian divisions fought together as one in the First World War.

After the war, some people said Vimy was where Canada “came of age” as a nation.

However, Vimy’s legacy must be examined in the larger context of the First World War. While the battle itself was a success, Vimy didn’t significantly change the course of the conflict. And the sheer number of casualties — more than 10,600 Canadians wounded or killed over four days of fighting — casts a pall over any urge to celebrate the victory.

Meanwhile, in May, Montréal will celebrate the anniversary of the city’s founding in 1642.

Established in the heart of hostile Iroquois territory, Ville-Marie was fortunate to last a year, let alone 375.

Montréal’s fortunes have fluctuated over the years. From the fur trade era, to the industrial revolution, and up until the 1970s, Montréal was arguably Canada’s leading city.

And yet, it’s important to remember that Montréal’s early years as Ville-Marie were scarred by nearly ceaseless conflicts with the Indigenous peoples of the region. The Iroquois in particular rejected the arrival of French Catholic colonists and their claims to traditional Iroquois territories. Today, the peoples of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy take a very different view of Montréal 375, and many won’t be celebrating.

From Vimy Ridge to Montréal 375, to the looming 150th anniversary of Confederation, 2017 is filled with a series of national milestones: moments of triumph and loss, of nation-making — and of nation-taking.

Whether you celebrate, commemorate, or mourn these events will depend very much on your perspective.

Mark Neil

CONTRIBUTORS



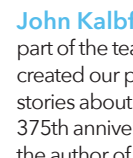
Tim Cook wrote “Ghosts of Vimy,” a story of Canada’s Great War memorial that is part of our package of stories commemorating the

Battle of Vimy Ridge. Cook is a historian with the Canadian War Museum who has authored a number of books, including *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend* (2017).

Kate Jaimet wrote about how Vimy Ridge is commemorated today. She is an Ottawa-based freelance journalist.



Mary Carpenter authored “Lost Generations,” in which she reflects on her experience as an Inuk child attending residential school in Aklavik, Northwest Territories. Carpenter is an award-winning writer and poet who holds three academic degrees.



John Kalbfleisch is part of the team that created our package of stories about Montréal’s 375th anniversary. He is the author of *This Island in Time: Remarkable Tales from Montreal’s Past*. His Second Draft column on Montréal’s history appears in the *Montreal Gazette*.



Mathieu Drouin is the culture and education manager at Musée des Ursulines de Québec in Québec City. He is also the program assistant for Canada’s History Society.



Jean-Philippe Proulx holds degrees in history. He is based in Montréal as the education and outreach co-ordinator for Canada’s History Society.



Darren Bonaparte is the Mohawk author of *Creation & Confederation: The Living History of the Iroquois and A Lily Among Thorns: The Mohawk Repatriation of Káteri Tekahkwí:tha*. He also created the Wampum Chronicles, a website about Haudenosaunee history.

A project of the Canadian Children's Book Centre

HISTORY BOOK BANK

Bring history alive with
great Canadian books
for kids and teens!



Find hundreds of books to introduce topics
and themes in Canadian history:

- Books for research projects for grades 1 to 12
- Engaging historical fiction for kids and teens
- Books that connect to topics in science, the arts, geography and other subjects

Visit this great resource for educators, parents and
young readers at bookbank.bookcentre.ca

NEW! Find books in French at
banquedelivres.bookcentre.ca

www.bookcentre.ca



@kidsbookcentre



/kidsbookcentre



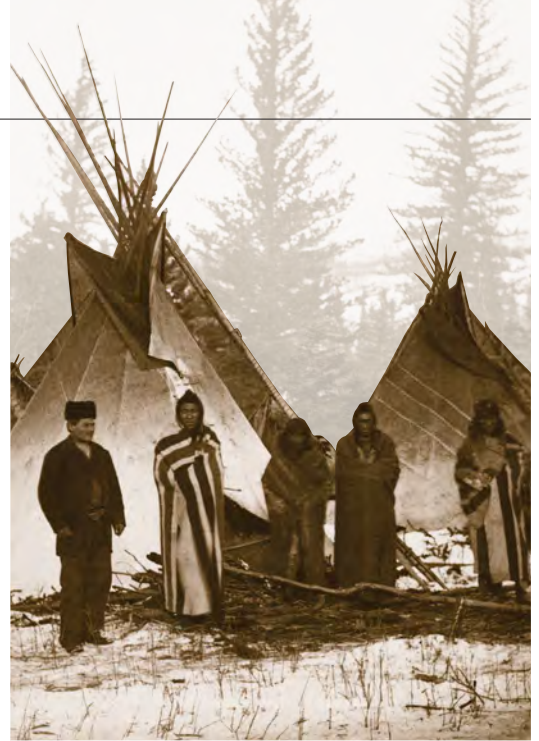
The Canadian
Children's
Book Centre

Safe haven

I found the article about Sitting Bull ["Refugee Crisis," February-March 2017] most fascinating and timely considering the current Syrian refugee crisis. Canada has been as open as possible in receiving modern refugees from political/military aggression, and in the article we see revealed a similar reception of refugees from the same type of aggression in a different era.

What it must have been like to have three thousand refugees arrive in Western Canada, where several thousand Cree, Assiniboiné, Blackfoot, and Métis were likewise suffering from the loss of the buffalo herds. And there were only some three hundred North West Mounted Police to keep order and peace. Yet they all found safety and peace in our Canada. It was for me a much more powerful story than the few paragraphs in my grade school Canadian history class. Thank you.

Ivan Hall
St. Albert, Alberta



Sobering bear facts

"Beyond Winnie" [February-March 2017] by Mike Commito and Ben Bradley is a great story about Winnie and other bears that we historically kept in captivity. However, our relationship with bears has changed for the worse. Canadians are ill-informed of the national slaughter of bears. Bears are denigrated as a nuisance and are routinely shot on sight.

Worse is the spring bear hunt — abominable trophy killing that caters mostly to Americans and is legal in all provinces except Nova Scotia [and Prince Edward Island, which has no black bears]. It's not really a hunt, since there is no "fair chase." They are lured with bait and shot from stands. The most infamous trophy hunters today are the sons of U.S. President Donald Trump, Eric and Donald Jr., who travel worldwide to shoot game animals. It's time to end this national disgrace. Respect *Ursus canadensis*!

Paul Filteau
Thunder Bay, Ontario

Grin and bare it

I much enjoyed the article in the February-March issue on pet bears. It reminded me of a wonderful true story in Lesley McKnight's history story book *Vancouver Kids*, "The Bear that Saw Lace Underwear."

A very proper minister's wife braved the mud and dust to visit the Stanley Park ranger and his family in 1898. There was the requisite pet bear on a chain. She poked it with her umbrella. In a second, the bear grabbed the

umbrella, the good lady reached to retrieve it, and in another second, according to the story, the "bear saw his opportunity and ... had ripped the minister's wife's skirt right off and now she was standing in the Vancouver sunshine in her undergarments."

Michael Clague
Vancouver

Beyond a nuisance

A photo caption in the "Beyond Winnie" article reads: "Two women approach a black bear at the nuisance grounds of Banff National Park, Alberta, circa 1951."

Nuisance grounds! How quaint, how genteel. Growing up seventy-five years ago in my hometown Minnedosa, Manitoba, we always used the term nuisance grounds — and not dump or garbage dump — but I have never heard the term spoken outside of my hometown. Have I led a sheltered life, or is it possible that Minnedosa is the boundary line between nuisance grounds in the West and dumps in Ontario?

Blanche and John B. McMillan
Burlington, Ontario

The Habs and the had notes

I enjoyed the recent piece "The Greatest Game" [December 2016-January 2017].

The articles sparked a memory of something my father recounted for me many years ago. He was born and raised in Cobalt, Ontario, and told me that Cobalt once had a hockey team called the Cobalt Silver Kings. Owned by a mining tycoon, the team started

its short existence in 1906 and was one of the founding clubs of the National Hockey Association [NHA], predecessor of the NHL. The Silver Kings and the Canadiens made history by playing the inaugural match in the NHA. Unfortunately, unlike the Canadiens, the Silver Kings folded in 1911.

Susan Ramey
Peterborough, Ontario

Straight shooter

My wife, Lorraine, and I truly enjoy each issue of *Canada's History*, and I was particularly intrigued by Roland Bohr's article "Bows and Arrows" in the October-November 2016 issue.

I'm currently eighty-one years old but can vividly recall the many times, as a child, that I visited the three Cree-Saulteaux reserves (Piapot, Pasqua, and Muscowpetung) along the Qu'Appelle River in Saskatchewan.

In addition to joining my young friends on the reserves in rounding up horses, I spent a considerable amount of time with seniors, learning about "how it used to be." I learned that they had to choose from what was available. Saskatoon shafts were the preferred, but not necessarily exclusive, source for arrows.

Keep up the good work!

Kenneth G. Passler
Christopher Lake, Saskatchewan

During the fur trade era, outposts regularly received "packets" of correspondence. Email your comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to Canada's History, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

VIMY 100 Toronto

Remember. Together.

Fort York April 8 & 9

10am to 5pm FREE



Service of Remembrance • Vimy Oak dedication •
Military parade • Firepower and tactical demos • Trench
course & cavalry demos • Great War themed exhibits

Produced by



toronto.ca/canada150



@specialeventsto

Call 311

#C150TO



RICHARDSON
FOUNDATION

together.
Caring for the communities
where we live and work

Since 1857, James Richardson & Sons, Limited has maintained a strong belief in giving back to the communities in which it operates. In 1957, to mark the Firm's 100th anniversary, the Richardson Century Fund was established by then-President Muriel Richardson, with its initial mandate to donate books to school and university libraries across Canada.

Today, the Richardson Foundation helps Canadian charitable organizations achieve their goals by providing meaningful funding that will enrich the lives of the people in the communities served by James Richardson & Sons, Limited and its affiliated companies: Richardson International, Tundra Oil & Gas Limited, Richardson Financial Group, Richardson Centre Limited and Wynward Insurance Group.

Focused on the Visual and Performing Arts, Youth Initiatives, Education, and Environmental Issues, the Foundation further provides special support to the United Way.



Muriel Richardson, founder of the Richardson Century Fund.



in the company of
ADVENTURERS

The Richardson Foundation is a proud supporter of a bold new initiative with Canada's History to ensure that our country's remarkable past is shared and preserved. As pioneer Adventurers, the Richardson Foundation is promoting a greater interest in Canada's History and helping Canadians to communicate our collective identity, shaping new thinking, and opening fresh frontiers.



EXPLORATIONS

From left: Bank of Canada Governor Stephen S. Poloz, then Status of Women Minister Patty Hajdu, Wanda Robson, sister of Viola Desmond, and Finance Minister Bill Morneau reveal the image of Viola Desmond, who will be the first Canadian woman on the front of a banknote.

A woman of note

Viola Desmond's addition to Canadian currency a welcome change. *by Yves Y. Pelletier*

Canada began a new and exciting chapter of its history with the recent selection of Viola Desmond as the first Canadian woman to have her solo portrait on the front of a banknote. While most tweets and comments have focused on her gender, this news is even more meaningful: It signals the end of Canada focusing exclusively on commemorating old white men as national symbols.

For many decades, Canada has been a world leader in celebrating multiculturalism, diversity, and inclusion. Yet the symbols of who we are as a nation have been slow to adapt to our changing demographic realities. Canadians may not see our national currency as an element of commemoration, but it is the most common way Canadians interact with their national history. For example, we are reminded every time we pull out a five-dollar bill that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was our first francophone prime minister.

The inclusion of Desmond's image on the 2018 printing of the ten-dollar bill will be an acknowledgement that Canada celebrates diversity. Especially significant is the fact that she is replacing Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald.

The notion of Macdonald as a national unifying symbol has always been challenging for Canadians. The Liberal governments of Laurier and William Lyon Mackenzie King were not keen to commemorate the memory of Macdonald, a Conservative, due to his involvement in scandals and overt acts of partisanship during his long tenure as prime minister. Macdon-

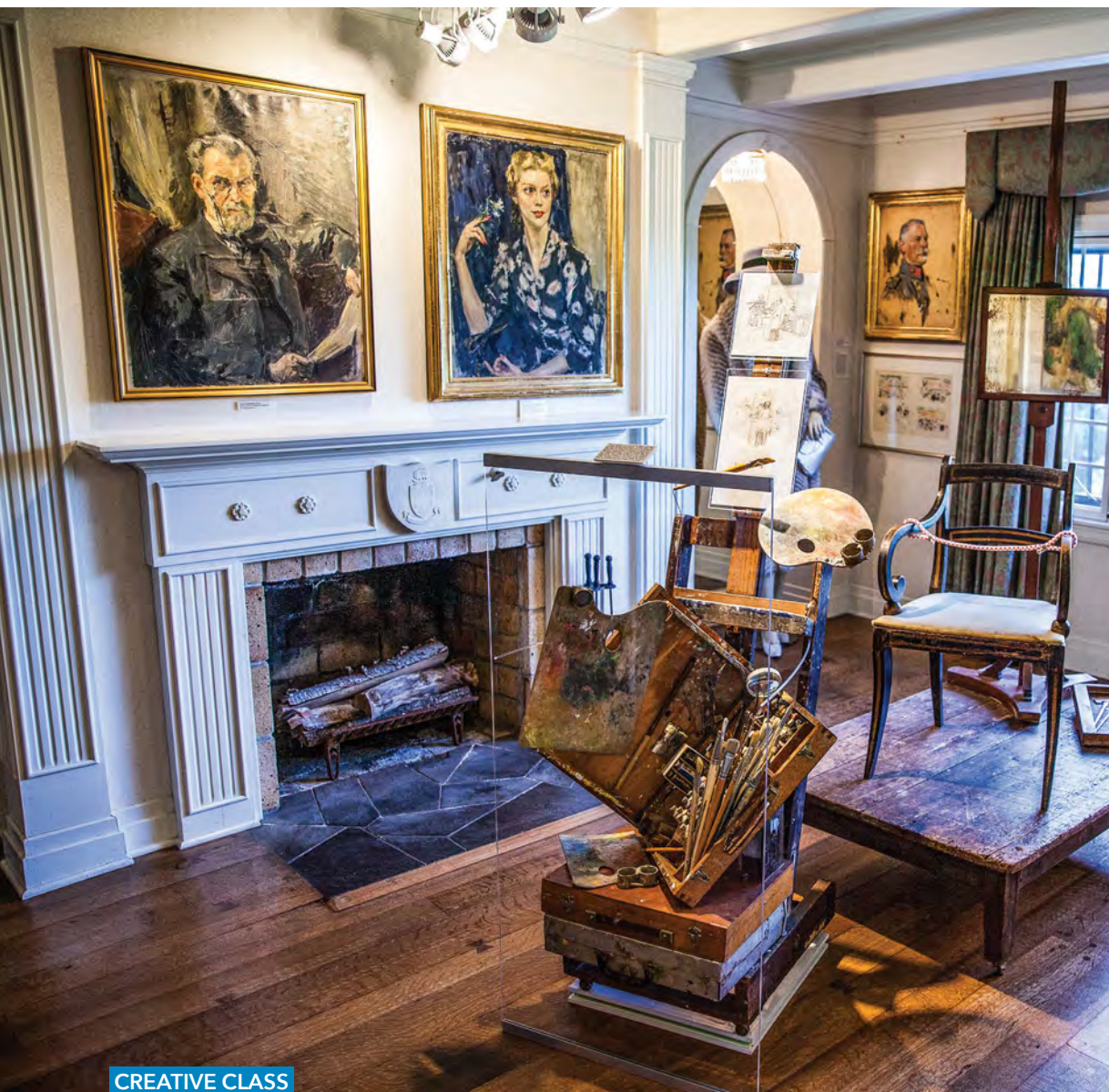
ald's residential school legacy and the approval of the 1885 hanging of Métis leader Louis Riel ensured that significant portions of Canada's population could never rally around Macdonald as a national symbol. Even Macdonald's self-declared greatest supporter — former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker — was wary of elevating the memory of Macdonald, recognizing that his Québec caucus would not support such actions.

The move away from commemorating old white men has happened elsewhere. In South Africa, the rand used to bear the likeness of Jan van Riebeeck, the seventeenth-century Dutch explorer who arrived in Cape Town. Van Riebeeck's image was used for more than fifty years to highlight white rule over the black population. After the fall of apartheid, the old white explorer was replaced with a portrait of Nelson Mandela, a symbol of the new South Africa.

Macdonald's admirers should not worry — his image is not disappearing completely. Rather, Macdonald and Laurier will eventually bump Sir Robert Borden (on the one-hundred-dollar bill) and King (on the fifty-dollar bill).

Meanwhile, Viola Desmond's addition to the ten-dollar bill will serve as a reminder to all that women and visible minorities have played a crucial role in the development of our country.

Yves Y. Pelletier, Ph.D., is the author of *The Old Chieftain's New Image: Shaping the Public Memory of Sir John A. Macdonald, in Ontario and Quebec, 1891-1967*.



CREATIVE CLASS



Where art is a family affair

Historic New Brunswick mansion hosts impressive art collection. *by Mark Collin Reid*

Long a playground of the rich and famous, St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, in southern New Brunswick, remains as enchanting today as it was during its heyday in the early twentieth century. Internationally renowned for its architecture, the town founded by Loyalists in 1783 was declared a National Historic Site in 1998.

Among the town's architectural jewels is Dayspring, a 1928 mansion that was formerly the home of Marcia Anastasia Christoforides, Lady Beaverbrook — the wife of Max Aitken, Lord Beaverbrook, the New Brunswick-born newspaper baron who played key roles in government during both world wars.

On a recent trip to St. Andrews, *Canada's History* visited with Vincent Prager, a Montreal lawyer who purchased Dayspring in 1995 and recently turned it into a museum dedicated to the art of Joseph Oppenheimer, his grandfather, and Eva Prager, his mother, who were both internationally recognized painters. The Oppenheimer-Prager Museum at Dayspring showcases the family's art, as well as the mansion itself, which is the largest home in St. Andrews-by-the-Sea.

Joseph Oppenheimer was born in Germany in 1876 and, during his career, painted out of Berlin, London, Montréal, and New York. He was renowned for his portraits, which employed fine detailing of the sitter's features with a looser



Top Left: Central to the display in the former office at Dayspring is a mock-up of Joseph Oppenheimer's studio featuring his original easel, paints, brushes, posing table, and chair. In addition, the room features a sketch he made in 1890, at the age of fourteen, of Otto von Bismarck, together with a congratulatory letter from Bismarck.

Top right: A collage of drawings by Eva Prager and a photo of her at work. One of the works displayed is the original of one of the many Christmas and greeting cards Prager made to support various children's charities.

Bottom: Dayspring was built in 1928. Algoma Steel purchased Dayspring in 1947 and gave it to Sir James Dunn, its CEO. On Dunn's death it was the only bequest he made to his third wife, Marcia Christoforides, who later became Lady Beaverbrook.



impressionistic style for the clothing and background. Oppenheimer counted among his subjects Albert Einstein, Sir Harold MacMillan, Germany's Count Otto von Bismarck, and South African President Paul Kruger.

Eva Prager, Oppenheimer's daughter, immigrated to Montreal in 1949 and became an accomplished artist. An officer in the Order of Canada, she employed a vibrant style to her pastel portraiture and counted Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau as both a subject and a personal friend. Other prominent subjects painted by Prager include violinist Yehudi Menuhin, astronaut Marc Garneau, author and historian Pierre Berton, and National Ballet of Canada founder Celia Franca.

TOP RIGHT: COURTESY TYLER HOOPER



Flight of a lifetime

Vimy flyover marks crucial contributions of aerial cameramen. *by Tyler Hooper*

April 9, 2017, marks the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge. To honour such a pivotal moment in Canadian military history, several pilots plan to fly replica First World War biplanes over the Vimy Memorial in France. Their mission is called Vimy Flight.

"We want to make sure that when they do the Vimy Ridge (commemoration) in 2017 that they recognize the aerial element," said Paul O'Rielly, a retired Royal Canadian Navy pilot who is participating in Vimy Flight. Five Nieuport II biplanes — and possibly two Sopwith Pups — are set to fly in formation over the memorial.

The replica Nieuports are slightly smaller than the originals but fly and manoeuvre in the same way. Unlike the originals, they carry modern safety equipment including a radio, a transponder, avionics, and a parachute.

In 1917, the Canadian military did not have its own air force. However, about twenty-three thousand Canadians joined the British Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service during the war.

Many of these men became aerial observers, cameramen who flew over enemy territory taking photos of German defences, guns, and troop movements. Although the job was not particularly glamorous, the intelligence and photos taken by these men were pivotal for the Canadian and British artillery's success at Vimy.

The Vimy Flight mission this April consists of pilots who are all former members of the military. Their mission has the support and approval of the Canadian military. The mission is being funded almost entirely by the pilots themselves.

For Peter Thornton, a pilot for Vimy Flight who also served in the British Royal Air Force and, later, the Royal Canadian Air Force, the flight is his way of saying thank you to Canada. "It's a way of celebrating this wonderful country."

After the completion of Vimy Flight, the pilots also plan a cross-country tour in honour of Canadian veterans and to help celebrate Canada's 150th birthday.



Harry Jerome holds the Canadian flag at the opening ceremonies of the first Canada Summer Games at Halifax-Darmouth, 1969.

MILESTONES

Competitive spirit

Canada Games celebrates fiftieth anniversary.

A half-century ago, more than 1,800 athletes made sports history in Québec City by taking part in the first Canada Winter Games.

A celebration of the country's best young amateur athletes, the games are held every two years, alternating between summer and winter events. The first games, held in February 1967 to commemorate the centennial of Confederation, featured the motto "Unity Through Sport."

Today the Canada Games is Canada's biggest multi-sport competition. Not only do the games triumph in bringing Canada together under the flaming spirit of competition, they also provide young Canadian athletes with the training, experience, and stepping stones they need to succeed in their future athletic endeavours.

The 2017 Canada Summer Games will be held in Winnipeg from July 28 to August 13.

— Anna Volotovska is a Grade 9 student at Seven Oaks Met School in Winnipeg.

Middle right: Prime Minister Lester Pearson congratulates medal winners of women's gymnastics at the first Canada Winter Games at Quebec City, 1967.

Bottom right: Games participants lounge in the athletes village during the second Canada Summer Games at New Westminster-Burnaby, British Columbia, 1973.



HIDDEN HERITAGE



Saint-Esprit-de-Rosemont Church, Montréal

Aggressively modern, machine-inspired, and international in inspiration, Saint-Esprit-de-Rosemont is a bold and unabashed celebration of a style seldom used in church architecture: art deco. It is a surprising choice for this Montreal church, especially because it is a product of a very local man, Joseph-Aegis-Césaire Daoust.

Born, raised, and educated in Montreal, Daoust started his career working with Louis Z. Gauthier, a well-established ecclesiastical architect also of local origin. Together they designed churches in traditional Québécois and Catholic idioms — which makes art deco an even more surprising choice for Saint-Esprit.

Art deco was usually associated with commercial buildings, consumerism, and technology. So how did it come to be used in Saint-Esprit? The answer seems to lie in Daoust's circle of professional connections. Between laying the foundations in 1922–23 and completing the church in 1932–33, Daoust collaborated with Ernst Cormier, the Montréal “starchitect” of the day. Cormier was responsible for some of the most iconic art deco buildings in Canada, such as the Université de Montréal and the Supreme Court building in Ottawa. This acquaintance probably explains why Daoust took a plunge in such a radical direction. Saint-Esprit retains a traditional Roman Catholic church floor plan and elevation and is built of locally quarried grey limestone that is typical of French Catholic architecture in Canada. Yet it boasts a sculptural ensemble that cannot be confused with anything previously seen in Canadian church architecture. The long, vertical lines of lights are more reminiscent of early movie theatres than churches. — Adam Krajewski

Provided by the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada in collaboration with Carleton University's History & Theory of Architecture program.

SIGNPOSTS

Flin Flon, Manitoba

Flin Flon is located in northern Manitoba. It is named after Josiah Flintabbatey Flonatin, a fictional character in a 1905 dime novel called *The Sunless City*, by J.E. Preston-Muddock. In the book, Flonatin, a prospector, builds a submarine to explore a “bottomless lake” somewhere in the Rocky Mountains — but it turns out not to be bottomless at all. At the bottom of the lake is a city that has streets paved with gold. In 1915, a mining prospector discovered large mineral deposits near modern-day Flin Flon. He had read *The Sunless City*, and inspired by the lost treasure in the book, named his claim Flin Flon. The name stuck. A statue of Josiah Flintabbatey Flonatin, designed by cartoonist Al Capp, welcomes visitors to the community.

— Evan Reid is a Grade 9 student at Nelson McIntyre Collegiate in Winnipeg.



CANADIAN HISTORY AS YOU'VE NEVER EXPERIENCED IT BEFORE

Alive, immediate, relevant, and fascinating

DISCOVER EXPLORERS, HEROES, VILLAINS, VISIONARIES, LEADERS, important historical events, and fascinating people. Meet Canada's history as it lives and breathes in every issue of *Canada's History* magazine and *Kayak: Canada's History magazine for Kids*.



FOR 7-TO-12 YEAR OLDS



CANADA'S
HISTORY

Subscribe today! Mail the attached card
Call 1-888-816-0997
Order online at CanadasHistory.ca



The write stuff

Women historians win fewer awards than their male counterparts – but why?

The group of women historians attending the 2014 prize-giving of the Canadian Historical Association all noticed the same thing. “We all kind of looked at each other,” said Elise Chénier, who teaches oral history, sexuality, and modern Canadian history at Simon Fraser University. “Are we just noticing this — or is this year a fluke?” she said to Lori Chambers of Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ontario, who has written substantial histories of adoption law, women’s property law, and regarding other matters.

What had they noticed? That it seemed men were winning all the big prizes.

Chénier and Chambers came away determined to study how gender influences not only prizes but all the work historians do. “We assemble and analyze data on our historical research subjects, but not so often on ourselves,” said Chénier. With Anne Toews,

a Toronto graduate student, they launched a study of “Sex Distribution in Publications and Prizes” in Canadian history. The data they compiled proved to be powerful stuff.

After all these years of equity hiring efforts, only about thirty-seven percent of full-time academic staff in Canadian university history departments are women.

In recent years, women wrote or edited just twenty-eight percent of scholarly history books in Canada. Men produced sixty-three per cent. Only about eight percent were collaborations between women and men.

“Faculty committees seek or require gender equity, adding to the work burden of the smaller number of women,” reports Chénier. And women typically carry a larger responsibility for household and child-rearing work than their male colleagues. Chénier, Chambers, and Toews speculate

that these burdens explain why women are more strongly represented in the writing of articles than books. The latter demand more time and concentration and require freedom to travel for extensive research.

Men also wrote about two-thirds of the scholarly book reviews in Canada, mostly about books written by other men. The only field where women dominated as authors and as reviewers was work with a gender or feminist analysis — since relatively few men write or review books on gender topics. The data create a troubling image of historians, still mostly male, still mostly reading and writing about the work of other male historians.

And that impression from the award ceremony? Confirmed. Women exist in something of a prize ghetto, they found. The women who write gender history have a fair chance at winning prizes for that field.

But for the many women historians who research and write about other historical topics, prizes are harder to come by. Male historians’ books do win most of those prizes, along with the influence and reputation that goes with them. But maybe that simply proves that men write the best histories? Chénier, Chambers, and Toews suspect it has more to do with “the social construction of academic excellence.”

“Every jury is unique. People bring their own perspectives,” said Chénier. But if the male majority mostly reads, and reviews, and teaches each other’s work, “the danger is in the tendency to treat the topic of broad interest as the one that treats the ‘neutral’ subject, which is the white male subject.”

“We do have great respect for Canadian historians,” Chénier continued. “These are our colleagues, these are people we know, and they really are enlightened, sensitive, aware, and widely interested.” But, she says, works about women, immigrants, and people of colour are seen as specialty fields. “The history of the white male is not seen as specialized in the same way.” That subject is treated as wider, broader, more important — and more prize-worthy.

Most of us are not university teachers. But prizes and reputations shape what we all read. If we only hear about some of the best historians, we all lose. 🐼

Christopher Moore comments in every issue of Canada’s History.

Bandolier bag

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

The Anishinabe word for bandolier bag is *Aazhooningwa'on*, which means “worn across the shoulder.” These bags are worn diagonally across the body, like a messenger bag. They originated with Indigenous groups in the Eastern Woodlands/Great Lakes area and were actually modelled after European military ammunition bags. Using trade cloth, women would sew hundreds of small glass trade beads over the entire surface of the bag and its strap, often filling all of the negative space with beads. The result is an incredibly beautiful but very heavy piece of wearable art. The earliest bags were purely decorative, lacking a pocket or pouch, and they were worn as part of men's ceremonial outfits. This late-nineteenth-century bag is an excellent example of the symmetry and floral and leaf designs of the Anishinabe. — *Amelia Fay, curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum*



HUDSON'S BAY

IN THE BEAVER ...



The striking cover photo of *The Beaver's* Summer 1958 issue was taken by Rosemary Gilliat and shows an “Eskimo” barge-builder working at Tuktoyaktuk, Northwest Territories. Inside the issue, seven pages of black-and-white photos portray other Inuit and First Nations people in “transition” as they adapt to the mechanized contemporary world that has been overrun by “the white man.” Following Gilliat's photo spread is an article by Francis von der Lin that looks at early attempts

to produce oil from “the bituminous sands of the Athabasca River.” The same issue also includes a pair of visual features printed on special paper with red and black ink. “The Quetico pictographs,” by Selwyn Dewdney, tells about the cliff paintings to be seen in Ontario's Quetico Park, west of Thunder Bay. And “Adrift,” by “Simon the Artist,” illustrates a hunting expedition during which he and eight other Inuit hunters found themselves carried away by moving sea ice.

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to CanadasHistory.ca/TradingPost. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to hbcheritage.ca, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at [@HBCHeritage](https://twitter.com/HBCHeritage).

ALL ABOARD WITH CANADA'S HISTORY & RAIL TRAVEL TOURS

Travel round trip from Winnipeg to either Churchill or Gillam by train in a dome observation car to experience the amazing heritage and wildlife of Northern Manitoba.



BELUGAS AND HERITAGE of CHURCHILL

Tuesday August 8 - Monday August 14, 2017

Celebrate the 300th anniversary of the founding of Churchill in August on a 7-day, 6-night guided tour that features sleeping accommodation on the train and a hotel stay in Churchill. Go beluga whale watching. See the town, Cape Merry Historic Site, the Hudson Bay shoreline, Fort Prince of Wales, the Parks Canada Interpretive Centre, and the Eskimo Museum's renowned collection of Inuit art. Enjoy additional heritage experiences and presentations.

TRAIN BERTH \$2,695.00 +GST or TRAIN ROOM \$2,995.00 +GST
P/P Double Occ. Single supplement \$300.00

YORK FACTORY & HBC FUR TRADE HERITAGE

Tuesday August 22 - Saturday August 26, 2017

Travel on a 5-day, 4-night guided tour to the isolated HBC York Factory site. View fur trade routes on the train ride from Winnipeg to Gillam and back (1 night on the train each way). From Gillam (2 nights) board a jet boat for a day trip down the Nelson and Hayes rivers. Relive the York boat routes – without all the paddling and pain! View the (failed) Port Nelson area and the York Factory site with its HBC cemetery and warehouse built in 1831. See displays where the fur trade stays frozen in time.

Train Cabin P/P- \$3,395.00 - Single supplement \$500.00



CALL Rail Travel Tours for more info and to reserve your spot!
TOLL FREE: 1-866-704-3528

CANADA'S
HISTORY



ALL ABOARD WITH CANADA'S HISTORY & RAIL TRAVEL TOURS



CALL Rail Travel Tours
TOLL FREE: 1-866-704-3528 or visit
CanadasHistory.ca/SuperiorColours

CANADA'S
HISTORY

Superior Colours & Heritage of Northern Ontario Tour

Thursday September 28 to Monday October 2, 2017



Enjoy northern Ontario's scenery and heritage with this 5-day/4-night annual tour combining fall colours, historic boats, modern buses, and trains. Roundtrip from Toronto, this always popular tour features a visit to the steamship *SS Keewatin* and a lunch cruise on the *RMS Segwun*. Trip highlights also include a Dynamic Earth Nickel mining presentation, Northern Ontario Railway Museum, White River Museum, Muskoka Heritage Centre, and much more. Package includes hotel stays, rail and bus trips, heritage attractions, most meals and additional heritage presentations.

Price \$1,055.00 CDN + HST (per person). Single supplement \$300.00
Advance booking bonuses if you call today with your deposit on the tour.



Ghosts of Vimy Ridge, painted by Australian Captain William Longstaff, circa 1929.

GHOSTS OF VIMY

CANADA'S GREAT WAR MEMORIAL IS SO LARGE AND SO POWERFUL THAT IT SEEMS ALMOST UN-CANADIAN.

by Tim Cook

It was a dream of death that inspired Toronto sculptor and architect Walter Allward's monument to Canada's war dead.

During the First World War, as the armies raged overseas on the Western Front, mired in shocking slaughter, Allward often dreamt of the battlefield. He recounted one poignant vision shortly after the war: "Division after division of our army was being swallowed up in this smoke, din, and destruction. Everything was disappearing, but as I looked down a long avenue of poplars lining one of the main roads I saw armies of the white dead coming out to relieve the dying armies of the living.

"When I awoke, and for long, long afterwards, the poignant impression remained and finally became a part of this work. Without the thought of the dead we could not have carried on, during the war or afterwards. It is this feeling that I have tried to express."

Walter Allward would be entrusted

by the Canadian government and the people of Canada to build a monument to the legions of Canada's dead who had been consumed in the maelstrom of destruction. He was also to create a site that offered some succour and closure to the survivors, while forever marking Canada's traumatic war experience from 1914 to 1918.

Canada had paid a terrible price in the First World War, known at the time as the Great War. As a dominion of the British Empire, Canada was automatically at war when Britain declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914. Yet it was up to individual Canadians to respond to the call. And they did, by the hundreds of thousands. By war's end, some 620,000 Canadians had served in uniform from a nation of fewer than eight million people.

About 425,000 Canadian soldiers went overseas to fight, and most served as part of the Canadian Corps, the Dominion's one-hundred-thousand-strong fighting formation.

The corps, with its four infantry divisions, fought at the Somme in 1916; Vimy, Hill 70, and Passchendaele in 1917; and in the crucial Hundred Days campaign in the final four months of the war. The Canadians had forged their reputation starting at the Battle of Second Ypres in April 1915, when they had faced the first chlorine gas attack, and they had been regarded in the many gritty engagements to follow as a formidable shock formation. But the clash of relentless battle and the attrition to forces garrisoning the stalemated front had cost the Canadians dearly. About sixty thousand Canadians were killed up to Armistice Day, and another six thousand died of their wounds or other ailments in the war's immediate aftermath.

Canada grieved for its fallen. There was pride in the service and sacrifice of the soldiers, but the country also reeled from the exertions of the war. The need to fill the ranks of the ever-torn-up combat battalions put a strain on the country. Convincing men to enlist — often with unceasing pressure exerted on them and their families — pitted Canadians against Canadians in the supercharged patriotic environment. Anger and grief fostered intolerance against those who were seen as not contributing to victory, especially recent immigrants, some elements of the organized labour movement, and French Canadians. War-induced scars criss-crossed the country. The country was forever changed. Canada needed to heal. The dead cast a long shadow across the fractured land of the living.

Canada was not a country known for its artists. The British saw the New World colonials as a hardy race shaped from the northern winter wastes, too busy trying to stay warm and fending off wild animals to create evocative art or literature. Canada had yet to embrace cultural nationalism, but there were small pockets of artists.

Walter Allward was one of them. Born on November 18, 1876, in Toronto to transplanted Newfoundland parents, he had received little encouragement or training in his passions of painting, sculpture, and architecture. But he taught himself, banding together with other young artists in the Toronto Art Students League. To further hone his skills, he worked as a draftsman for the firm of Henry Gibson and Charles Simpson. All the while, he studied the European masters and was particularly taken with Michelangelo, whose works he drew and redrew, studying form and figure.

Attesting to his skill — and perhaps the lack of sculptors in Canada — he received his first major commission while still a young man. It was a memorial to the Northwest Rebellion. The Métis and First Nations resistance had been stamped out in a multi-pronged assault by Canadian militia units in 1885. The military operation, seen at the time as a legitimate suppression of an uprising in the West,

was celebrated in large parts of English Canada. Allward's design at Queen's Park in Toronto drew upon classical themes; his figure of Peace offered a striking focal point when it was unveiled in 1896. The monument raised his profile, and his reputation was further enhanced by a stunning memorial to Canada's experience in the South African War, which was unveiled in Toronto in 1910 to much acclaim.

Allward, with a shock of brown, wavy hair, blue-grey eyes, and a broad chest, was a handsome figure. He travelled in the highest art circles in Toronto, and he rode the success of the South African War memorial to other high-profile commissions. He finished the Robert Baldwin and Sir Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine double sculpture in Ottawa in 1915, and, two years later, the Alexander Graham Bell memorial was completed in Brantford, Ontario.

In the aftermath of the Great War, as communities across the country sought to memorialize the fallen, Allward was contracted to design monuments in the Ontario communities of Peterbor-

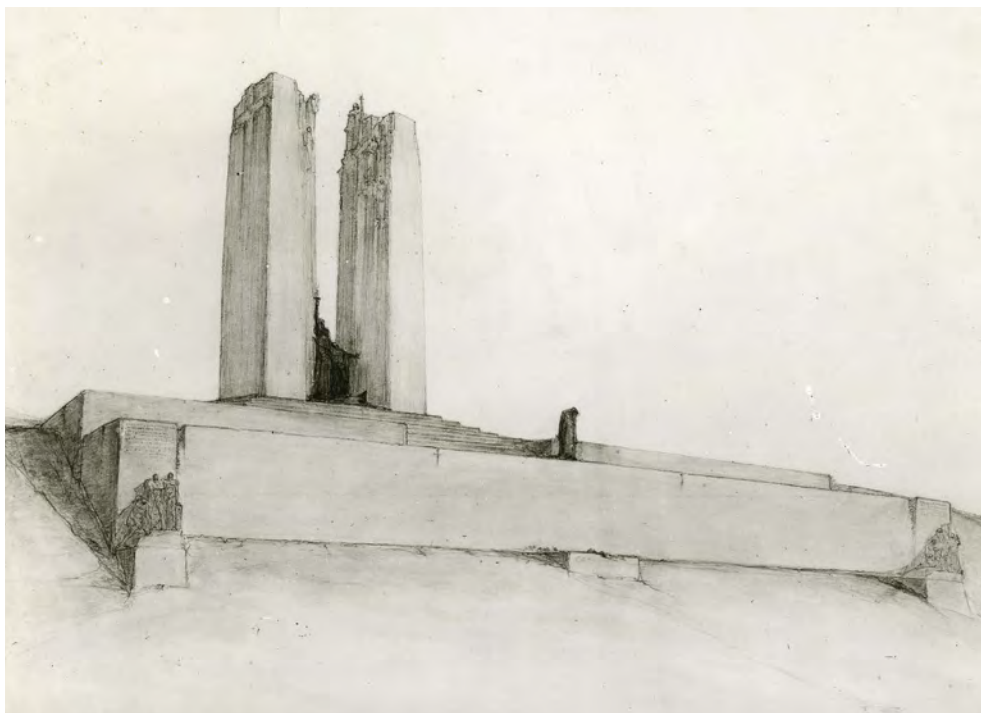
ough, Stratford, and Brantford. He began work on these projects but would soon be drawn away from them by Ottawa's call to erect a national overseas memorial. His life would never be the same.

With Canadians trying to make sense of the terrible wartime sacrifice, Sir Robert Borden's Unionist government voted funds to mark the war in 1919. While the Imperial War Graves Commission would care for Canada's dead overseas, unearthing thousands of bodies to inter them in new cemeteries, Ottawa also wished to memorialize its major battlefield victories. This act was part of an emerging sense of Canadian nationalism, stirred by the war, whereby Canadians increasingly desired to stand on their own, refusing to let their accomplishments and deeds remain in Britain's shadow.

Canadian representatives worked with the British and the overseas corps commander Sir Arthur Currie to identify eight sites to commemorate with memorials. Three were on Belgian soil, at St.



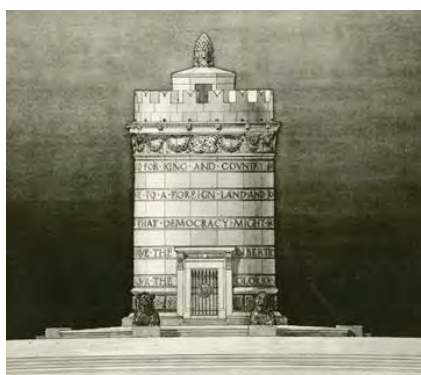
**ALLWARD'S VIMY
MONUMENT DESIGN WAS
PRAISED FOR HAVING A
"VERY HIGH APPEAL TO
THE IMAGINATION."**



Opposite page: Sculptor and architect Walter Allward, creator of the Vimy monument.

Left: Allward's conceptual drawing for the Vimy monument.

Below: Three conceptual drawings showing other competing designs for the monument.



Julien, Hill 62 (Sanctuary Wood), and Passchendaele. Five were in France, at Vimy Ridge, Bourlon Wood, Le Quesnel, Dury, and Courcellette. Bourlon Wood, Le Quesnel, and Dury were all battles in the Hundred Days campaign, from August 8 to November 11, 1918, while St. Julien represented the Battle of Second Ypres in April 1915 and Hill 62 stood for the June 1916 Battle of Mount Sorrel. Land was purchased or acquired on the former battle sites.

The Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission was established in September 1920 to oversee the memorialization of Canada's war effort. Consisting of politicians and former soldiers, the commission set the rules for the competition that was open to Canadian architects and artists. The committee felt that the same winning memorial might be displayed on all eight sites or that a single, unique monument might stand alone. There was talk of elevating Vimy beyond that of the other battles, but General Currie objected, telling the committee in a formal interview, "I do not think it was the most outstanding battle, or had the greatest material or moral effect on the winning of the war."

By April 1921, 160 submissions were whittled down to seven-

teen finalists, and in October 1921 Allward's unique Vimy design was declared the winner. "A very high appeal to the imagination," recorded the minutes of the commission. Allward's model consisted of two pylons emerging from a long heavy base of stone. It was characterized by strong vertical and horizontal lines, but it was humanized by twenty allegorical figures who represented in stone the sacrifice of a nation. These were placed around the monument, but there was also a central figure, Canada Bereft, an anguished mother who grieved for her dead. Below her stood an empty tomb to represent the fallen. It was far different than the sanitized and glorified Northwest Rebellion and South African War memorials. Canada's sixty-six thousand dead could not be reduced to an ennobling statue of victory.

There had never been anything like it in Canada or representing Canada. The enormous memorial had a base seventy-two metres long by eleven metres high and thirty-seven metres deep, supporting two vertical shafts just over thirty metres in height. It drew its power from the idea of capturing a nation in mourning.



Above: Stone carvers work on the monument's allegorical figures.

Opposite page: Canadian students at Vimy Ridge in 2013.

Allward's striking monument could not be reproduced eight times to mark Canada's overseas battles. It was too large, too unique. There had to be a second choice. Frederick Chapman Clemesha's shaft of granite from which a soldier emerged, head bowed and hands resting on his reversed rifle, was selected as the second design that would be replicated in the remaining seven spots.

Clemesha, a wounded veteran from Regina, was quick to unveil his first memorial at St. Julien to mark the Battle of Second Ypres on July 8, 1923. The *Brooding Soldier*, as it came to be known, is a powerful monument that evokes the soldiers' comradery and sadness. One commentator at the ceremony wrote, "There is a mysterious power in this brooding figure drawing you from the things that are to be to things that were. It does more than command the landscape, it orders the spirit ... this is the soul of those who fell."

Yet Clemesha's monument, when revealed, was felt to be too distinctive to replicate on six more battlefields. Like Allward's memorial, it too was seen as exceptional and distinct. The committee scrambled and chose six stone blocks to mark the other battle sites, as it waited for Allward to create Canada's unique overseas monument. A question remained: Where to put it?

The Canadian Battlefields Memorials Commission recommended somewhat surprisingly that Allward's monument should be erected at Hill 62 in the Ypres salient, where the Battle of Mount Sorrel had been fought in June 1916. The battle over the low-lying ridge was a bloody affair that consisted of three phases: two defeats and a final Canadian victorious attack, all over a two-week period, at the cost of almost nine thousand Canadian lives. However, it had little place in the pantheon of Canadian battles. It was a strange place to put Canada's national memorial.

The commission felt that the seven-kilometre-long Vimy Ridge — a more obvious choice to mark, since it was one of Canada's most prominent, where the four Canadian divisions had attacked together for the first time, and which resulted in the capture of the nearly impregnable position — would dwarf, even obscure, Allward's monument, "where its delicacy of line would be lost in the mass of the ridge."

The designated site for the overseas memorial remained in the Ypres salient in early 1922 when Allward signed a five-year contract to begin work. But soon after that, in April, the committee in Ottawa recorded in its official minutes that "the name of Vimy Ridge was more closely associated with Canada not only in the minds of Canadians but of the people of other lands." The commission's members worried that perhaps they had erred.

Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, who had not served during the war and was periodically taunted for it by the Opposition, told them that indeed they had made a mistake. King was a champion for placing the memorial at Vimy. He must have listened to veterans about where they wanted the monument, since he had never gone overseas to see the battlefields, but he was taken with the imagery of Vimy, with the ridge's looming presence towering over the land. In his words, "Vimy itself is one of the world's great altars, on which a perceptible portion of our manhood has been sacrificed in the cause of the world's freedom."

The government began negotiations with the French, and by the end of the year a hundred hectares of land was granted to Canada — "freely and for all time," according to the treaty — for the Dominion to develop a memorial and a park. Canada's overseas monument would be erected at Vimy Ridge.

Allward moved his family to London and established a studio there, but he made frequent trips to Vimy Ridge. Travel was difficult, as much of France was in the throes of rebuilding after the terrible war. There were shortages of building materials and labour, which would also slow the work at Vimy. But first, Allward, in working with Captain (later Colonel) D.C. Unwin Simson, a wartime combat engineer who was responsible for the Vimy site, walked the length and breadth of the ridge. It was pitted with millions of shell craters, hundreds of thousands of tonnes of metal, an unknowable number of dangerous unexploded shells, and the rotting remains of corpses. Even though the grave-digging teams had scoured the land to locate the dead, many were buried beneath the surface in the kilometres of caves and dugouts that formed a labyrinth beneath the ridge. The smell of rotting flesh pervaded the ridge for years.

Allward studied the ridge from every angle. He decided to place his monument on the highest point, Hill 145, which had been the site of tremendous battles throughout the war. Allward planned to

excavate the heights to create a flat surface for his monument and to give the impression that it was emerging from the ridge itself. Over the next couple of years, some 60,000 tonnes of clay, chalk, and soil, intermixed with shells and bodies, were removed from the future site of the monument before laying 15,000 tonnes of steel-reinforced concrete for the foundation.

While the memorial's foundation was being set and its structure erected, Allward struggled to find the right stone with which to clad his monument. In his quest, he travelled France, Britain, and then much of Europe. He tested stone after stone. Nothing met his high standards. The committee in Ottawa was frustrated and even suggested several types of stone to Allward. He turned them all down. Ottawa was increasingly worried about the stubborn architect's unyielding vision that was holding up the entire project.

Less than a decade after the guns fell silent, rain, snow, and sleet were eroding the once-powerful trench lines, and grass was beginning to emerge from the blasted earth. A reforestation program began in the 1920s to further bring life back to the dead ridge. Yet there was also a desire to preserve the battlefield as it was.

While Allward searched for the stone, Simson had his own vision of Vimy as a preserved warscape. Identifying a number of trenches, Simson's team of labourers stuffed sandbags with wet cement, stacked them, and let them dry. The crumbling parapet was remade, as were the once-wooden boards beneath the soldiers' feet that were now recast in concrete.

Next came the excavation of Grange Tunnel, one of thirteen underground tunnels that had been dug under the Canadian lines to protect soldiers from shellfire and snipers. Grange, at over twelve hundred metres and more than ten metres deep, snaked back from the 3rd Division's front lines to Neuville St. Vaast.

Simson's work crew began the dangerous work of shoring up the tunnel, parts of which had already collapsed. In the process, battle artifacts were discovered, including ammunition, grenades, and high explosives. The lethal munitions were handed over to the French for disposal, while the other relics were left undisturbed.

One of the astonishing finds was that the walls of the tunnels and other underground caves were marked with soldiers' inscriptions. The Canadians who had taken refuge in the shelters had used bayonets, other sharp devices, and even pencils to carve their names, home towns, crests, and sayings into the soft chalk walls. The mute testimonies of carvings and phrases were a powerful reminder of the Canadians who had served on the Vimy front.

Allward felt the pressure from Ottawa to get on with the selection of the stone that was holding up the project, but he refused to be rushed. In late 1925, Allward heard of an ancient quarry, near Split in Yugoslavia, that had produced limestone for Diocletian's Palace in the late third century. The Seget limestone was durable and strong, and as it weathered over time it took on a light cream colour. Allward set off for the quarry, worried that this might be his last chance before he had another stone foisted on him by Ottawa.

When the local quarry owners opened the site for him, he was overjoyed at what he found. Extraction began late in 1926. It was a stressful period. The Canadians contracted the work to a British operator, Walter Jenkins, but no one was sure of how much



BRIDGING TIME

For students, visiting Vimy is a life-changing experience. *by Kate Jaimet*

Jocelyn Davis will never forget the emotional impact of visiting the Canadian National Vimy Memorial in France. Davis travelled there in 2013 as one of the winners of the Vimy Pilgrimage Award for students aged fourteen to seventeen. The week-long educational trip takes them to First World War sites in Belgium and France.

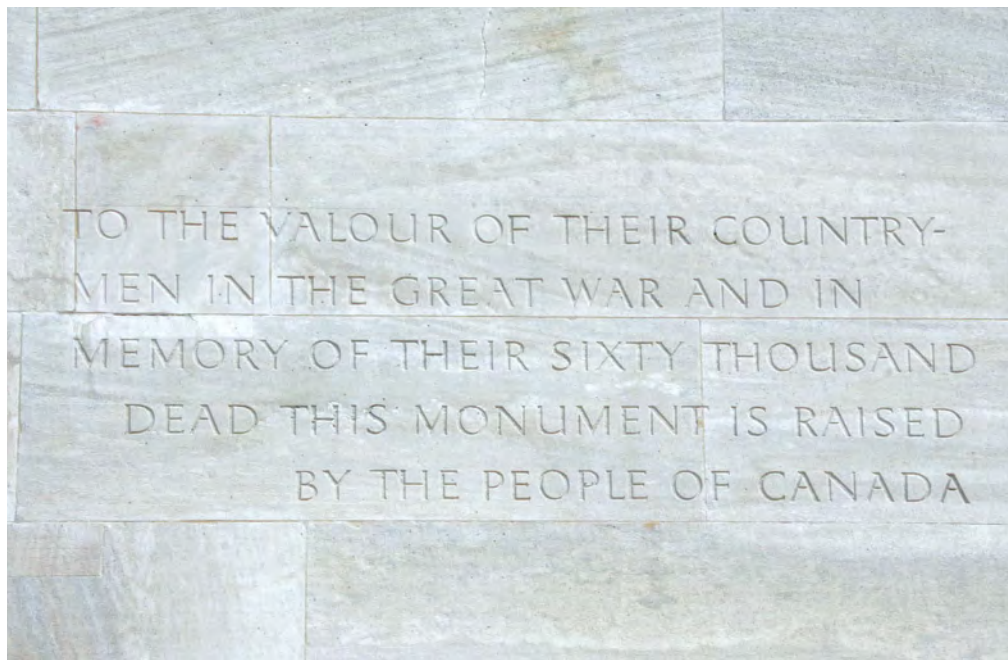
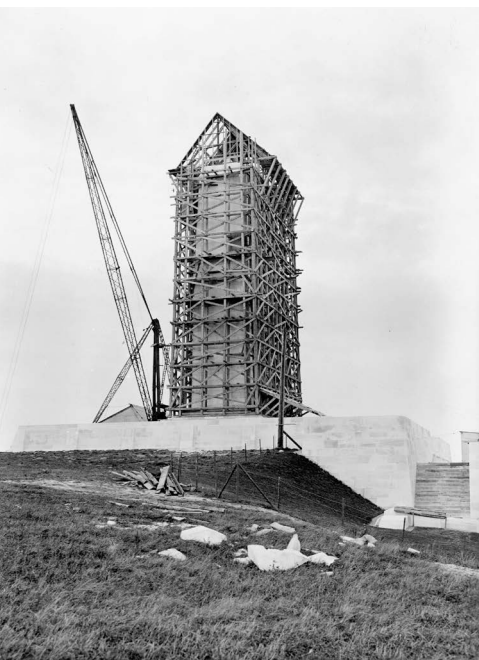
Davis (second from left in photo above) said walking through the trenches at the Vimy battlefield made her feel connected to the soldiers who fought there.

"To see that so many casualties were inflicted to gain so little territory – it was such a pointless war. I knew that, but it really brought it home," said Davis, who is now twenty. "That kind of deep emotional connection I felt bridged the century between those men and me."

The Vimy Pilgrimage Award is one of two scholarship programs offered annually by the Vimy Foundation. The award recognizes "the actions of young people who demonstrate outstanding service, positive contributions, notable deeds, bravery or leadership." Applicants must write a five-hundred-word letter outlining the reasons why they are worthy of the award.

stone was in the ground. Far more maddening, inexperienced and incompetent workers broke many of the slabs as they extracted them. Jenkins was losing a fortune, and he sent on to the Vimy site limestone that was flawed with marks or too small for use. Allward studied each piece, refusing many of them. A fierce war of words in print continued between Jenkins and Allward, but by June 1927 there were 6,100 tonnes of rock at the site.

The Seget limestone would clad the concrete memorial. It was what visitors would see and touch, and it would also bear the names



Above left: The monument at Vimy Ridge under construction. Above right: An inscription on the Canadian National Vimy Memorial.

of 11,285 of Canada's fallen soldiers in France with no known graves. The awesome power of artillery during the war, along with the large-scale battles that raged back and forth across the same battlefields, meant that killed soldiers were often lost forever. Shellfire dismembered flesh; bodies were sucked into the mud; soldiers were slain and buried, and then their crosses were destroyed. After weeks of silence, loved ones at home received the dreaded missive in the form of a telegram or letter that a soldier was "missing." There were no answers to the next of kin's pleading requests for information. Over time, the hope for a miracle diminished. Yet there remained no closure.

The names of Canada's fallen with no known graves in France would be inscribed on the Canadian National Vimy Memorial (with another 6,998 names representing Canadian soldiers who fell on Belgian soil with no known graves on the Menin Gate in Ypres). The names of the missing would be reclaimed from the battlefields that consumed them.

Allward was only informed in September 1926 that his memorial was to carry the names, and he was at a loss as to where to put them. He eventually offered up his walls, running the names alphabetically in continuous bands. Sandblasted into the stone, the thousands of names reinforced the monument's powerful message of loss and grief. On the walls and ramparts of Vimy, the army of the dead would stand together for all time.

By 1927, the memorial was taking shape and providing an awe-

inspiring presence on the ridge. It was staggering in size, with its enormous base and depth and the two vertical shafts reaching to the sky. These pylons, which could be seen from afar, as Allward had planned, attracted much attention. The pylons' meaning evolved over time, although by the late 1920s Allward had settled on the idea that they represented France and Canada. One suspects that if the monument had been built in Belgium, as initially

planned, the pylons would represent something more inclusive than just France.

The long wall facing the Douai Plain, according to Allward, was meant to suggest a bulwark or "a line of defence." Allward planned for the wall to represent the monument's impermeability, standing as a symbol of the Canadians who captured and held the ridge — and who hold it still.

Adorning the monument were twenty sculptural figures, standing singularly and in groups. Allward worked on these sculptures for years. They were crucial to his monument as they sanctified and humanized the space. These allegorical figures, some of which were named Truth, Justice, The Defenders, Hope, and Faith, represented idealized visions and were a continuation of his previous sculptural work that had drawn upon classical themes. But these figures, which were situated across the monument and even atop the twin pylons, were in distress. Many were thin, gaunt, and in pain. The monument's central figure,

THE VIMY MEMORIAL BECAME ALLWARD'S LEGACY PROJECT. NEVER BEFORE OR SINCE HAS CANADA BUILT SUCH A MONUMENT TO ANYTHING IN ITS HISTORY.

STARTING POINT

New visitor's centre to open at Vimy Ridge.

A new centre that explores Canada's role in the First World War opens at Vimy Ridge, France, on April 9, 2017 – exactly one hundred years after the famous battle.

The centre will include artifacts, letters from soldiers and their families, interpretive texts, and projections of historical images. One wall of the building will incorporate a panoramic window overlooking the trenches and craters of the battlefield.

The centre will also tell the story of the Vimy Memorial, created by Canadian sculptor Walter Allward.

"It's a starting point to what we hope will be a two- to

three-hour experience on-site," said Jeremy Diamond, executive director of the Vimy Foundation.

"You'll be prepared to go into the tunnels – they have trenches on-site as well – and then a short walk over to the monument to read the names of those that died in the First World War with no known grave in France."

The Vimy Foundation promotes public awareness of Canada's Great War history and was instrumental in the centre's creation. As many as fifty thousand people are expected to attend the one hundredth-anniversary ceremony at Vimy Ridge. – **Kate Jaimet**



COURTESY OF ROBERTSON MARTIN ARCHITECTS AND BISSON-CASTONGUAY

Canada Bereft, stands with head bowed, holding wilting lilies, as she weeps for her fallen sons. The sculptures represented suffering in stone.

These figures are important for what they represent, and for what is absent. There are no sculptures to Canada's martial strength. Instead, there are figures breaking the sword and even holding high the torch of remembrance, clearly influenced by the worldwide success of John McCrae's "In Flanders Fields." Allward's monument was a site to peace, not victory, an homage to

grief and death, not triumph and conquest, and, with the engraved names, always a call to remembrance.

Again, absence is importance. The memorial was not a signpost to the "birth of the nation." This is important to note, if only because when King Edward VIII unveiled the monument on July 26, 1936, he spoke of how the Vimy Memorial represented a coming of age event for Canadians. Subsequent generations built on this narrative, as Canadians constructed and reconstructed Vimy's meaning over time, often ascribing to it a nation-building narra-



Thousands of people inspect the Vimy monument following its unveiling in 1936.

tive. However, Allward's monument was conceived in death and remained a site of mourning for Canada's fallen.

The Vimy Memorial became Allward's legacy project. Never before or since has Canada built such a monument to anything in its history. The monument was so large and powerful that it seemed almost un-Canadian. Some found the monument ostentatious, including Prime Minister Mackenzie King. But most critics — and, one suspects, most Canadians — applauded Allward's grand vision. Group of Seven painter A.Y. Jackson, a frequent commentator on art and culture in Canada, described the memorial as “beyond and above anything that the framers of the competition conceived of.” It was monumental in size and grandeur. There would never be another like it.

When his work was finished, Allward returned to Canada in 1937. By this time, the country had moved on. He had been away for the better part of two decades, and, while he received honorary awards and was made a fellow of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, he remained an artist in a land that rarely celebrated its own cultural leaders. While he secured a contract to produce a memorial statue of William Lyon Mackenzie, which he unveiled in 1940 to much praise at Queen's Park in Toronto, there were no other commissions after it.

Allward passed away on April 24, 1955, at the age of seventy-eight. There was a brief outpouring of accolades in obituaries, but he was soon forgotten. The monument, too, was little visited by Canadians in the decades after the Second World War. It was too far away and international travel was too expensive. And perhaps few cared about the Great War, superseded as it was by the necessary war against Adolf

Hitler's Nazi regime, and later by the search for peace during the Cold War under the ever-present spectre of nuclear Armageddon.

The Vimy Memorial would have to wait for another generation of Canadians to return to it, starting in the late 1990s, as well as a major refurbishment from 2002 to 2005. Since then, Canadians have visited the memorial in large numbers, especially on the ninetieth anniversary of Vimy, in 2007, and this year, 2017, for the one hundredth anniversary. Allward was also restored from the dustbin of history; in 2002, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada designated him a “person of national significance,” with a plaque erected at his Bell Memorial in Brantford.

Allward created a stunning work of art that gave meaning to a generation dealing with the tremendous wartime legacy of shock and pain. His monument anchored the Vimy legend, which, over time, became an important signpost in Canadian history, representing the capture of a nearly impregnable ridge by Canadians from across the country in a time of great upheaval. Some even claimed that Vimy marked the birth of the nation. While assertions like that are contested, the monument remains an anchor of remembrance for Canadians who have struggled to make sense of the war.

To visit Vimy is to bear witness to the agonizing losses of Canada's war. It is a site of great beauty and sorrow that also stirs pride and patriotism. This monument on a foreign field of battle is a powerful Canadian symbol. While not all find meaning in its ramparts and sculptures, Allward created a unique memorial for the living and the dead. The ghosts of Vimy continue to haunt that ridge, upon which a monument stands for a country forever shaped by the Great War. 🇨🇦



Private William Howie, far left, watches as King Edward VIII, holding a top hat, chats with Canadian veterans during the unveiling of the monument.

POSTWAR PILGRIMS

Veterans were eager to attend the unveiling of the Vimy monument.

Private William Howie was stationed on the front line at the Battle of Vimy Ridge when he heard a terribly loud noise – a mortar explosion so close that a piece of loose shrapnel flung up, hit his face, and pierced his eye, damaging it beyond repair.

“When we were kids our favourite pastime was to watch him take out [his artificial eye] and have him show it to us,” said granddaughter Marie Kerr from Ancaster, Ontario.

Howie enlisted December 7, 1915, and served in the 19th Battalion, Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada.

In 1936, Howie and his wife, along with 6,200 other veterans and their families, were invited to Europe for a pilgrimage to the former battle sites, which would culminate at Vimy Ridge for the unveiling of the Canadian National Vimy Memorial.

The Howies travelled by train to Montreal, where they boarded the *SS Montcalm*, one of five ships contracted for the round-trip voyage. Bands played, fireworks erupted, and crowds cheered from the Montréal docks as the ships cast off on July 16. When they arrived in Europe, the couple travelled by train, visiting various battlefields in France and in Belgium. When they got to Vimy, as many as a hundred thousand people – most of them French civilians – were there to attend the ceremony. The unveil-



A commemorative envelope and stamp issued to William Howie the day of the unveiling of the Canadian National Vimy Memorial.

ing of the monument by King Edward VIII was held in the mid-afternoon and broadcast live by radio.

Along with the other veterans, Howie stood in a privileged spot in a large amphitheatre at the front of the memorial. Wearing a beret and an armband, Howie beamed as the King inspected the troops. Kerr said she can remember him talking about going to the dedication: “It was quite a big thing, to get to go.... I’m sure it must have been a proud moment for him.”

VICTORY AT VIMY



SHOCK TROOPS

In late October of 1916, Canadian troops arrive at Vimy Ridge and immediately begin regular raids on enemy trenches, gaining crucial knowledge about German defences.



TRAINING MATTERS

Throughout the winter, troops behind the front practice on a full-scale replica of the ridge, highlighting key objectives with coloured flags. Battle maps are shared with the troops to ensure that, should their officers be killed, the soldiers can continue attacking.



UNLEASHING HELL

On March 20, 1917, 983 pieces of artillery – from heavy guns and howitzers to field pieces – begin hammering the Germans who are dug into Vimy Ridge. The guns will fire more than one million shells before the actual assault begins on April 9.

Canadian soldiers advance through German wire entanglements during the Battle of Vimy Ridge.

HOW TRAINING, TIMING, AND NEW BATTLE TACTICS HELPED CANADA CAPTURE VIMY RIDGE.



OVER THE TOP

The attack on Vimy Ridge begins at 5:30 a.m. on April 9. As the first wave of Canadian troops goes over the top, the artillery begins a "creeping barrage." This innovative tactic sees troops closely follow a wall of shellfire as it advances across the battlefield. By the end of the first day, most objectives are achieved, but German machine guns exact heavy losses on the Canadians.



BLOODY APRIL

High above the battlefield, the British Royal Flying Corps (RFC) engages in dangerous reconnaissance flights in slow-moving observation planes. The RFC – which includes many Canadian pilots and observers – offers crucial intelligence to the ground forces and even helps Allied gunners target enemy strongpoints. But the planes have to fly at a low height, and many are shot down.



VICTORY!

The Canadians capture almost all of Hill 145 – the highest point of Vimy Ridge – on April 9 and the lower slopes of the ridge on April 10. Two days later, they take another prominent height, nicknamed "the pimple." The Germans retreat. The victory at Vimy Ridge marks the only significant Allied success of the spring offensive of 1917.



VIMY VOICES

THOUSANDS OF CANADIANS SERVED – AND SACRIFICED – AT VIMY RIDGE.

The victory at Vimy Ridge, France, one hundred years ago, remains Canada's most storied attack of the First World War.

Beginning on April 9, 1917, along the entire length of the ridge, all four Canadian divisions advanced side by side for the first time in a single attack.

But the victory came at a cost. During four days of fighting, 3,598 Canadian soldiers were killed. This was in addition to the

several thousand lost in the four months leading up to the attack.

While the battle itself did little to change the course of the war, it cemented the Canadians' reputation as fierce attacking soldiers, a reputation they would carry forward over the remaining eighteen months of the Great War.

Here, from *Canada's Great War Album*, are stories of some of the men who fought at the sharp end of the battle. We invite you to read even more stories at GreatWarAlbum.ca.



Canadian artillery pounds German positions at Vimy Ridge.



MATTHEW ARCHER

MATTHEW ARCHER LOOKED around him — at the silent bodies of his dead Lewis gun crew mates and at his wounded friends who were crying for help — and was faced with a decision: retreat, or fight.

He chose to fight and by doing so saved the lives of many of his fellow soldiers.

Archer, a native of Bradford, Ontario, won the Military Medal during the Battle of Vimy Ridge for single-handedly repelling a succession of German counterattacks. For forty-eight hours he manned his Lewis gun — scrounging the pockmarked muddy ground for ammunition.

After the battle, he was promoted to sergeant and quickly developed a reputation for caring deeply about the men under his command.

That's why his death, on August 17, 1917, came as such a blow to his brothers in arms. Archer had been making the rounds through the trenches near Lens, France, when an enemy shell directly struck his position, killing him instantly. In a letter home to his mother, Jessie, a Captain Aiken wrote, "From the Colonel on down, we all feel his loss terribly. His actions on Vimy Ridge will long be talked about in this battalion."

Submitted by Anne-Mae Archer, Matthew Archer's niece.



Just before going overseas in 1916, Matthew Archer poses for a photo with his cousin, Margaret McAfee, and brother, Charles Archer.



WILLIAM ALLEN

HIS FAMILY AFFECTIONATELY called him Will, or Willy, but to his brothers in arms, William Alexander Allen was known simply as Bill.

A lieutenant in the 58th Canadian Infantry Battalion, the twenty-four year old from Kincardine, Ontario, fought at Vimy Ridge and, following the battle, was ordered to guard trenches that had been captured from the enemy. It was dangerous work, since the Germans had been

ordered to recapture the positions in a series of rapid counterattacks.

Allen's diary entry of April 17 suggests the men were worn out by fatigue: "[Battalion] is being relieved tonight by 1st C.M.R. The men have now done nine days duty in the trenches and are in no condition to carry on."

Allen enlisted at Valcartier, Quebec, on September 23, 1914, and served as a corporal in the 9th Battalion. He likely received a field promotion to lieutenant.

Sadly, his diary entry of April 17 would be his last. He died the next day, killed by a German shell while walking to his billet in Villers-Au-Bois, a small village near the Belgian border.

"This officer only with us a short time, but he showed great promise. His death is greatly regretted," states an entry in the 58th Battalion diary on April 18, 1917. Allen left behind two brothers and two sisters and is buried at Ecoivres Military Cemetery in Pas de Calais, France.

Submitted by Allan Anderson, Allen's great-nephew.



WARREN HALSTEAD

AMID THE CHAOS of war, medical decisions were often made on the fly. Overwhelmed doctors and nurses would have to make instant decisions on who received attention and on what treatments, if any, they received.

During the Battle of Vimy Ridge, Warren James Halstead was forced to take medical matters into his own hands — literally. Wounded in the leg, the thirty-three-year-old father of seven was told by the harried medical team that there was no time to operate.

“Because there were so many casualties they were rushed, and were going to amputate his leg,” said Betty (Halstead) Lowry, Warren’s daughter. “He said no!, asked for a probe, and dug out the shrapnel himself, therefore saving his leg.”

The Hamilton man was sent home later in 1917. Sometime after his return, his wife died of Spanish influenza. This deadly flu would eventually claim millions of lives worldwide.

Halstead later remarried and lived until the age of eighty-six.

Submitted by Betty Lowry, Warren Halstead’s daughter.



GEORGE, JOHN, AND WILLIAM LOMAX

IT WAS COMMON during the First World War for entire families of men to enlist together.

In the spring of 1916, John, George, and William Lomax of Banff, Alberta, all signed up to fight. William and John were privates, but George was made a lance corporal. Soon after, though,

he asked to be reduced in rank to private like his brothers — likely to ensure that they could stay together at the front.

On April 10, 1917, John — at nineteen years old the youngest brother — was killed at Vimy Ridge. George, twenty-two, died just a few months later during surgery for wounds sustained in battle. William, twenty-one, survived the conflict but died in January 1919 from pneumonia that was likely exacerbated by the mustard gas poisoning he had suffered during the war.

The deaths of the brothers devastated the Lomax family back home, especially their mother, who passed away in 1922 of heart failure.

“She was really just heartbroken.... That’s all,” said Ed McDonald, the nephew of John, George, and William. McDonald’s mother, Margaret, was just a little girl when her older brothers died, and she carried the pain of their loss for the rest of her life.

“We might have won the war,” he said, “but we lost the family.”

Submitted by Ed McDonald, nephew of the Lomax brothers.

After the deaths of John, George, and William Lomax, the job of running the family farm fell to their little sister, Margaret. She is shown here at age seventeen, a few years after the war, with an unidentified child.





The names of the Rogers brothers are engraved on the war memorial in Welland, Ontario.



ERNEST AND RICHARD ROGERS

IT'S SOMETIMES EASY to forget that the Battle of Vimy Ridge was not simply a four-day attack. It was the culmination of months of planning and preparation, and fighting continued to rage in the region after the battle.

During this time, many Canadians gave their lives to keep Vimy from falling back into German hands. Among the casualties were Ernest Arthur Rogers and Richard Charles Rogers, brothers from Welland, Ontario. Ernie died near Vimy Ridge on April 4, less than a week before the battle, while Richard died there on May 7, less than a month after the attack. In a sad twist, it was Richard who, in waist-deep mud, helped to carry the stretcher that bore his dying brother from the battlefield.

The deaths of Ernie and Richard came as a cruel blow to their widowed mother, Annie, and sister Amelia back in Welland.

Submitted by Wes Murray, great-nephew of Ernest and Richard Rogers.



WILLIAM MITCHELL

IT'S THE STARKNESS of the telegrams sent to soldiers' next of kin that strikes you most.

There's no room for sentiment, no mention of heroic deeds to ease the pain of their loss — just a few short lines that, once read, hit like a punch to the gut.

"To Mrs. E. Mitchell ... Deeply regret inform you 406357 Pte. William Mitchell, infantry, officially reported killed in action April twelfth, nineteen seventeen."

Mrs. E. Mitchell — Ellen — was William's wife. One can only imagine her grief as she relayed the news of Daddy's death to their four young children.

William Mitchell was born in England in 1877 and fought in the Boer War. He moved to Canada and lived in Merriton,



Ellen and William Mitchell and family, circa 1911.

Ontario, at the time of the war. Active in his local militia, he enlisted in Hamilton on April 15, 1915, with the 36th Battalion. In France, he was assigned to the 58th Battalion. He took part in the assault on Vimy Ridge, and sometime between April 10 and 12 he was killed and then buried in a common grave. After the war, his body was exhumed and reburied in La Chaudiere Cemetery in France.

Submitted by Dan Mitchell, William Mitchell's great-grandson. 🐾





LOST GENERATIONS

An Inuk artist reflects on the legacy of the residential schools in the Far North.

by Mary Carpenter

In 1966, Mary Carpenter appeared on national television and shattered the myth of residential schools as the “saviours” of Indigenous children. As a guest of *The Pierre Berton Show*, the twenty-three-year-old Inuk from Sachs Harbour, Northwest Territories, wept as she spoke of the physical and mental abuse she suffered. It was a shock for thousands of viewers, who had for generations been fed a lie: that forced assimilation was the answer to Canada’s “Indian question.”

Today, Carpenter is an award-winning writer and poet. She holds degrees from Rutgers, Western, and Carleton universities. She is a mother and a grandmother. She is also a residential school survivor. This is her story.

Mary Carpenter, far left, and her fellow students at All Saints Anglican School in Aklavik, Northwest Territories, receive a geography lesson in 1953.



IN 1939, THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA RULED, UNILATERALLY, THAT Eskimos — today known as Inuit — were “Indians,” and as Indians they were wards of the Crown. The Canadian government authorized various religious organizations, with aid from the police, to herd Eskimo children into residential schools — as they had been doing to Indian children in southern Canada.

Eskimo children were taken away by airplane from their parents and clan groups, and all familial ties were severed. That is what happened to me. At a very young age, I, being an Eskimo child, became one of these residential school inhabitants.

Before contact with southerners, I had lived my life as the cherished daughter of a wealthy, cosmopolitan father who was the acknowledged leader of two strong Inuvialuit clans. We did not need Canada or its schools and hospitals to survive. We were an entity unto ourselves. The quality of my life with my clan was exceptionally high. Contact with colonial Canada diminished my life and uprooted my clan. We are still struggling to recover.

Officially, the primary purpose of residential school was to Europeanize Indigenous peoples and to uproot us from our former “inferior” cultures. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples has described these schools as “internment camps for Indian children.” We, as in-

terns, experienced mechanisms of control. I, as well as others, believe that residential schools, run as institutions, prepared us better for jail than for life in white society.

I entered the residential school system in 1948, when my father reluctantly handed me over to the missionaries at the Immaculate Conception Roman Catholic Missionary School in Aklavik, Northwest Territories. Until that moment, I had never seen a white woman, or a two-storey building. The school smelled of strange chemicals that I would come to learn were kept under the kitchen sink for cleaning.

I witnessed with trepidation the transition of parental power when my beloved father handed me over to the Grey Nuns and Oblate fathers. When my father left and the door closed behind him, these alien creatures usurped my Inuvialuit life. I was to stay at the school for one year, before being transferred with my three siblings — Margaret, Noah, and Joey — to the All Saints Anglican Missionary School, also in Aklavik.

At school we found ourselves isolated, not only from our family and homelands but also from our friends and siblings. This isolation made us more vulnerable to the massive brainwashing inflicted on us in order to replace our “pagan superstitions” with Christianity. Relentless labour and routine replaced our former free and easy life.



Clockwise from left: Mary Carpenter removes baked goods from an oven at All Saints Anglican School, Aklavik, Northwest Territories, circa 1950s. Frank Carpenter (bent over), Mary's brother, and Merle, his adopted son, at Sachs Harbour, Banks Island, N.W.T. Fred Carpenter with his children, including Mary, who is wearing a skirt and a light-coloured shirt. A map of the Northwest Territories shows the distance – about 555 kilometres – between the Carpenter family's home at Sachs Harbour on Banks Island and Aklavik, where Mary and her siblings attended residential school. Aklavik Roman Catholic school and hospital, circa 1943.

The nuns harshly punished any expressions of individuality or Aboriginal culture. As we entered the school, the nuns shaved off our traditional long hair and assigned each of us a number. Mine was W3-244. The nuns took away my Native name, Tungoyuq, and replaced it with “Mary,” a name from their Bible. If I dared to utter one word of my Native language, Inuvialuktun, the nuns severely punished me. One of the punishments was standing on one leg in the hallway for all to see with a bar of soap in one's mouth.

My induction into residential school alienated me from my former life and my identity: what I came to know, who I came to love, what was important to me as a human being. This experience took away my world.

The only contact I had with my father came once a year, and only for two days duration. Each summer, my father would arrive at Aklavik aboard his fabled schooner, *North Star of Herschel Island*, to trade his yearly catch of white fox furs. I cherished those two days spent with my family, but the women of my clan seemed alarmed at my behaviour because I had become a “bedwetter” and a “clinger.” I was so starved for attention. And when my father's trading was finished, his departure was heart-rending.

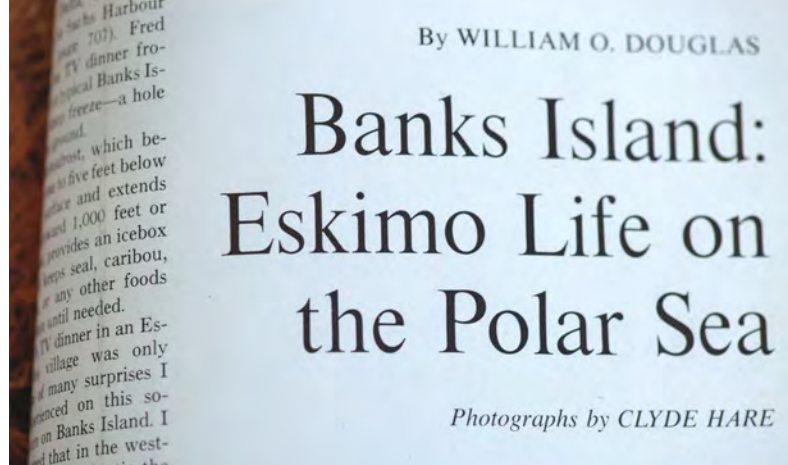
When I finally returned home to Sachs Harbour for good, I was

fourteen years old and filled with so much sadness and anger. By this time I was writing seething poetry that alarmed my family. My behaviour, fuelled by resentment and anger, confused them.

Why did my hunter father consent to my incarceration? I needed to know. And so, within hearing distance of my entire clan, I confronted my father with these calculated words: “You are a polar bear hunter, and you know the mother bear either kills or is killed defending her cubs. Why didn't you do that for me?”

My father never answered — and my clan never forgave me for these harsh words. They echo back and fuel the despair.

Residential schools shared many similarities with prisons. We were like inmates, our days ruled by routine. Every morning, the bells rang throughout the dormitories, and we lined up for the bathroom, then put on our uniforms, and sleepily and silently walked in a straight line to the cavernous chapel. The Oblate priests, dressed in black robes, chanted from elevated altars and served wine and wafers only to those confirmed into the Roman Catholic Church. The nuns were there to serve the priests and to keep their young charges in line. It was a regimented environment where we soon learned to line up for everything in our daily lives. The white



This page, clockwise from top left: Dahwana, Mary Carpenter's paternal grandmother, date unknown. Fred Carpenter's schooner, the *North Star of Herschel Island*. A 1964 *National Geographic* article featuring the Carpenter family. Mary Carpenter and her father Fred in 1964. Carpenter with author Pierre Berton, circa 1990s.



people had all the power. Many children never saw their parents or homelands again.

Residential school became our cultural landscape. Inexorably, we lost our cultural roots. We did not become white, but we were no longer brown. We became lost generations.

Residential schools were driven by a policy that voiced an agenda to “kill the Indian” and “save the man.” The cultural and political extinction of Aboriginal peoples as self-determining nations was integrated as an objective of a school system that was still in place decades after the development of the welfare state.

The volume and intensity of Native testimony about the cultural oppression that characterized the schools make it clear that the official agenda of attempted assimilation was a cause of severe pain and lasting damage.

The layout of the residential schools tells us much about how the white masters controlled the children. Everything about residential school was about severance and barriers. We Inuit children came from a place with no walls, where life unfolded in front of us without any physical or emotional barriers. Therefore, the layout of the residential school and the personnel who administered them were fundamental to reshaping our understanding of space and the purpose of that space.

In my Inuvialuk world, there were no gender differences in names, and our clan system was inclusive. Everyone co-operated. There were no walls, and we all slept and ate in the same space. As children, we learned to live and to thrive in a sensory world. We learned with our five senses. By contrast, the physical space of the school had many walls. We had a defined space to sleep, to eat, to play. We sat rigidly at a desk, facing the teacher. We sat in long wooden pews watching and listening to priests and nuns as they instructed us from a strange, big, black book with a gold-embossed “BIBLE” emblazoned on the cover. In residential school, the Bible was often used to justify the ill treatment of innocent children.

As the weeks turned into months and then years, we learned to line up in order to eat, and to march to class, to chapel, to the dormitory. We learned to respond to and listen for the bells, which dictated our lives. We learned to survive in a regimented world. We learned to bury our senses. Quickly we learned automatic, perfunctory motions such as making the sign of the cross over our bodies, to stand erect like motionless, lifeless, ceramic statues, and to sit erect, like tree stumps, on hard pews. We learned to survive in a world of no laughter and no sound except barking commandments.

At school, the nuns taught us to despise the traditions and accom-



Left: Ada Gruben, Mary Carpenter's mother, in Tuktoyaktuk, Northwest Territories, circa 1930s. Gruben died in 1956 at age 38.

Above: Mary Carpenter in her home in Ottawa, January 2017.

plishments of our people, to reject the values and spirituality that had always given meaning to the lives of our people, to distrust the knowledge and the ways of life of our families and kin. When the school released us and we returned to our villages, many of us had grown to despise ourselves. We all became damaged goods.

There is no remedy for the severed ties from mother, father, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins. There will be no “overcome” for me. But writing stories, articles, and poems has given me courage to face my fears, despite being afraid of what I may recall. And I am buoyed by the other Inuvialuit authors who have explored the dark legacy of residential schools.

Magic Weapons: Aboriginal Writers Remaking Community after Residential School, by Queen’s University Indigenous literature scholar Sam McKegney, introduces readers to the writings of several Inuvialuit authors, including Anthony Apakark Thrasher and Alice French. Apakark wrote *Skid Row Eskimo* in the early 1970s while incarcerated in Calgary. When one considers the theft of land, dispossession, and discriminatory legislation that have historically defined Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations, one wonders who the true criminals are and what true justice is.

Alice French’s story *My Name is Masak* was published in 1977 and focuses on her Inuvialuk name. In her book, she signals to the world that she is reclaiming her identity as an Inuvialuk woman despite her years in residential school and the enforced familial disconnection.

Stories such as those written by Apakark and Masak are the sparks that will ignite the formation of Inuit circumpolar identity and imagination. My Inuvialuit ancestors were imaginative people! This writing will also expose the capacity for Indigenous strength in light of Euro-Canadian assumptions about our supposedly inherent weakness.

Many residential school survivors have died without forgiving their parents, the government, or the churches. They died thinking that it was impossible to escape the terrible heritage imposed on their lives. Our common tendency was, as legal “wards of the Crown,” to self-destruct from inherited paranoia and inefficiency. The educators drilled into me that white people came to the North American continent solely from their sense of duty to their God. They told us we should be grateful for their forced assimilation.

None of my ancestors invited them. I owe them nothing.

Being a residential school survivor, I understand how political manipulation works. I had fourteen years of incarcerated lessons on genocide! *Taima!* (Enough!). 🐾

MONTRÉAL 375

375 MONTRÉAL

FROM MISSIONARY VILLAGE TO COSMOPOLITAN METROPOLIS

DARREN BONAPARTE • MATHIEU DROUIN • JOHN KALBFLEISCH • JEAN-PHILIPPE PROULX



Montréal and its old port, with Mount
Royal in the background.

Perched on Mount Royal, the Kondiaronk Belvedere lookout, named in honour of a great Huron chief, offers an exceptional view of the city. Behind a forefront of imposing skyscrapers lies Old Montréal, where traces of the first settlements, Hochelaga and Ville-Marie, remain. In the background, the St. Lawrence River reminds us of the city's rich maritime history as a crossroads of exchange and a gateway to thousands of newcomers. In the heart of the city, the two major thoroughfares of Saint-Laurent and Sainte-Catherine

conjure up many images: a legendary goal by Maurice Richard, a striking performance by burlesque dancer Lili Saint-Cyr, or even a sandwich from Schwartz's deli.

Montréal, as the francophone metropolis of North America, you are a beautiful, welcoming, and astonishing city. Your distinct blend of cultures and histories shines forth throughout the world, whether it is the music of Leonard Cohen or the works of Michel Tremblay. You can be proud of this colourful history, which is truly unique.

— Jean-Philippe Proulx



FOUNDING VILLE- MARIE

THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, A SMALL GROUP OF FRENCH SETTLERS FACED UNTHINKABLE HARDSHIP AND DANGER TO ESTABLISH WHAT WOULD BECOME THE GREAT CITY OF MONTRÉAL.

BY JOHN KALBFLEISCH

SPRING CAME LATE TO THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER valley in 1642. Not until May 8 had enough ice gone from the great waterway to allow a band of extraordinary people at the little town of Québec to clamber into their boats and head upstream.

Officially the expedition was led by the governor of New France, Charles Huault de Montmagny. But, since the governor considered it a foolish undertaking and would soon be returning to Québec, the real leaders were a pious ex-soldier named Paul de Chomedey, sieur de Maisonneuve, just thirty years old, and the equally devout Jeanne Mance, a nurse five years his senior.

Their goal was to establish a Catholic missionary community on Île de Montréal, some two hundred and sixty kilometres away. It was to be called Ville-Marie, after the Virgin Mary.



Paul de Chomedey, sieur de Maisonneuve.



Sponsored by the Société Notre Dame de Montréal — one of an astonishing number of religious organizations that grew out of the century-long Catholic revival known as the Counter-Reformation — the founders were establishing something quite unusual.

Distinguished historian Gustave Lanctot has gone so far as to write, “This is perhaps unique in history: the birth of a town ... whose only goal was the glory of God and the conversion of the natives.”

Initially, the venture did not receive the blessing of Governor Montmagny. He urged them to settle on Île d’Orléans instead, because it was closer to the town of Québec and easier to defend from Iroquois attacks. But the society insisted on Île de Montréal because, being a crossroads for many Indigenous nations, it was an ideal spot from which to evangelize. The fact that some of those nations were unfriendly did not faze Maisonneuve:



Maisonneuve Fonde Montréal 18 Mai 1642, a painting by George Delfosse (1869–1939), hangs in the Mount Royal Chalet in Mount Royal Park, Montréal.

“My honour is at stake,” he told Montmagny, “and you will agree that I must go up there to start a colony, even if all the trees on that island were to change into so many Iroquois.”

Just getting to the island was an act of faith. Progress was slow, for the sails and oars of their small, shallow-draft boats had to fight a swelling current. Nowhere in France had any of them seen a river so vast or forests so dense. They might have paused at Trois-Rivières, the only settlement upstream from Québec; otherwise, come evening, they’d tie in to the rough shoreline and camp.

To this day mysteries cling to the expedition. We don’t know all the settlers’ names. We don’t know how many they were — about forty but perhaps several more, including at least three women and apparently a few children. We don’t know how many boats they had: two, three, or four — it depends

on how you read the sources. And, most confounding of all, we don’t know exactly when they arrived at their destination, though it remains one of the most significant dates in Canadian history.

Reaching Île de Montréal took them more than a week. But how much more? Did they arrive on May 17, or was it May 18?

According to the *Jesuit Relations* — annual reports the Jesuit priests sent to their Paris headquarters — Father Barthélemy Vimont was part of the expedition that May. In the report for 1642, Vimont states flatly that “on the seventeenth of May ... Monsieur the Governor placed the sieur de Maisonneuve in possession of the Island.” However, some thirty years later the Sulpician priest François Dollier de Casson, acknowledged as Montréal’s first historian, states that they arrived on May 18.

Vimont was an eyewitness; Dollier, who arrived in New France in 1666, was not.



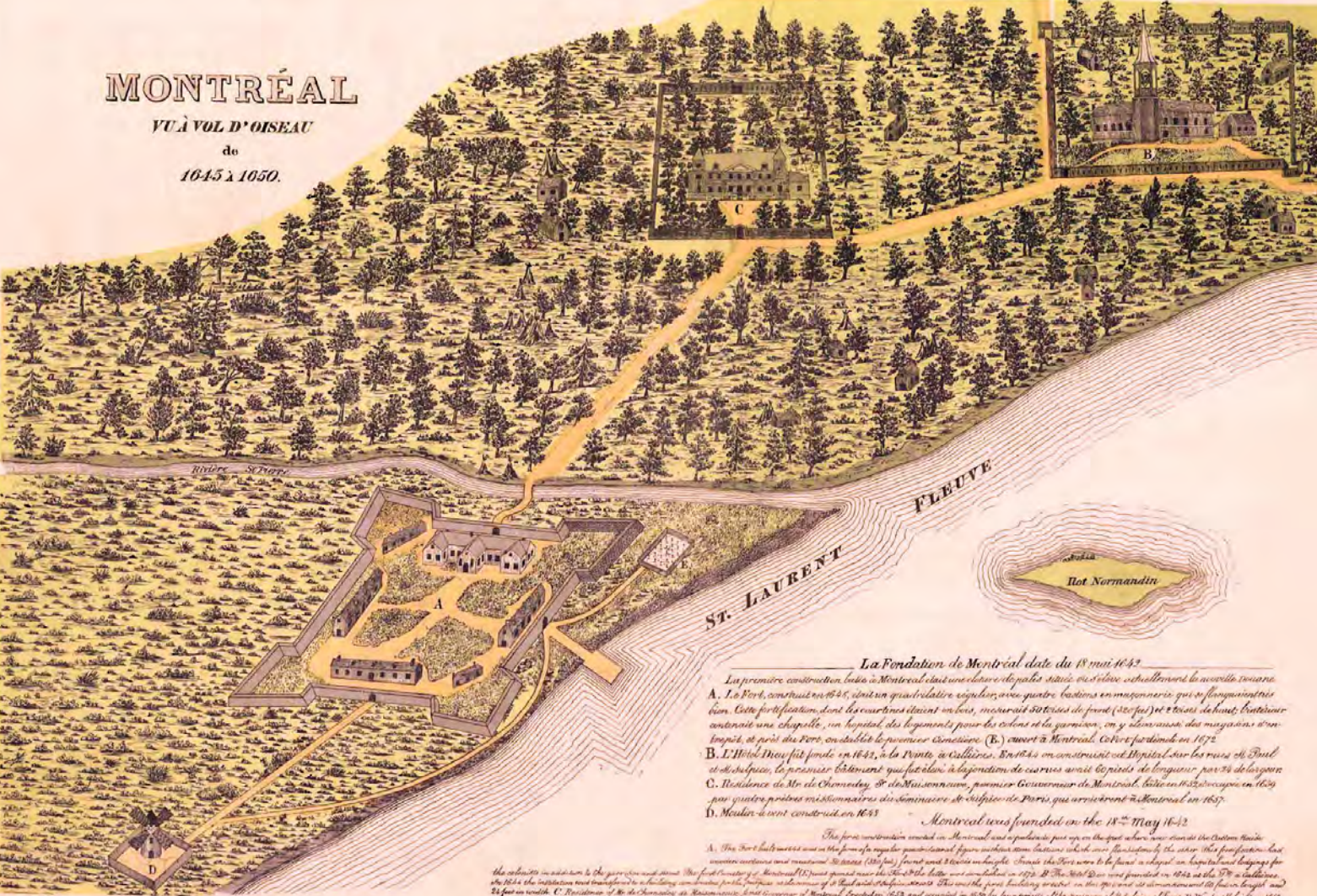
Marguerite Bourgeoys arrived in 1653.

MONTREAL

VU À VOL D'OISEAU

de

1645 à 1650.



A bird's-eye view map of Ville-Marie 1645–50, created by architect/surveyor Pierre-Louis Morin (1811–86).

Even so, he had access to certain documents and would have been able to interview some of Ville-Marie's surviving founders, including Jeanne Mance. Perhaps, in a way, both were right. Perhaps the expedition arrived at the island on May 17 as night was falling; but, rather than attempting the unfamiliar St. Mary's Current — a stretch of fast and swirling water off Montréal — they remained on their boats. This way, a chancy thrust through these mini-rapids and then an actual landing could be put off until daylight returned.

Their target was a triangular meadow a kilometre or so above St. Mary's Current. Samuel de Champlain had come across the meadow in June 1611 while looking for a possible townsite and named it Place-Royale. Not only did its twenty-odd hectares seem suitable for crops, it also had some ready-made defences: the St. Lawrence on one flank, the little Rivière Saint-Pierre on the second, and, closing off the third side, a stretch of marshy ground.

Explorer Jacques Cartier had also visited the site in 1535. At that time Indigenous people known as the St. Lawrence Iroquoians were growing crops there. Cartier was received at a village in the vicinity known as Hochelaga. The village was apparently abandoned a few years later. (The St. Lawrence Iroquoians were not part of the Iroquois — also known as Haudenosaunee — Confederacy.)

When Maisonneuve and his companions came ashore, they immediately thanked God for delivering them

to so favoured a spot. Mance and another of the women, Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny de la Peltrie, founder of the Ursulines in Québec, set up a rough altar and decorated it with wildflowers. Father Vimont celebrated the first mass ever said on the island. The old hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus" ("Come Creator Spirit") was chanted. In his sermon, Vimont — according to Dollier — said: "Look, gentlemen, what you see is but a grain of mustard seed. But it is sown by hands so pious and so moved by the spirit of faith and piety that Heaven must doubtless have vast designs ... and I have no doubt that this seed will grow into a great tree, one day to achieve wonders."

More hymns and other expressions of thanksgiving were a large part of that day. There were no altar lamps, but as evening drew on fireflies were gathered — Dollier says some were caught, improbably, in daylight as well — and they were "hung by threads in a beautiful and marvellous manner."

But it wasn't all prayer. Also on the 17th, according to Vimont, or the 19th as Dollier has it, the men set to work cutting long stakes and erecting a rough palisade to defend against the Iroquois.

At first all was tranquil in Ville-Marie. Maisonneuve and his people built a "habitation" — a kind of communal dwelling, with a couple of small rooms set aside for Mance's hospital. A few out-buildings and a rudimentary chapel were also put up. They planted some crops and extended the palisade. A dozen additional settlers

arrived that summer. A small party of Algonquins passed through in July, and some were baptized. The first, a four-year-old boy, was given the name Joseph. Mance and Maisonneuve were named his godparents. "This is the first fruit that this island has borne for paradise; it will not be the last," declared Father Vimont.

Each morning the settlers received the Eucharist, girding themselves for whatever fate the day might bring in so forbidding a wilderness. The French had anticipated a cold winter and had their quarters chinked as well as they could manage against the elements. But they had not foreseen the effects of a sudden and unseasonable thaw. Just before Christmas, the snow began to melt, the St. Lawrence rose, and water began trickling through the stockade. If water soaked their food or gunpowder stores, the outlook would be dire.

They set to praying with renewed fervour. Maisonneuve ordered a small cross to be placed by the rising water. He swore that if God spared them he would bear a much larger cross up Mount Royal, the mountain looming behind Ville-Marie, and place it there.

Sure enough, on Christmas Day the waters began receding, all the proof they needed of God's favour. A large wooden cross was duly fashioned, and on January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany, Maisonneuve fulfilled his vow. All the settlers accompanied him as he laboriously shouldered the cross well up the slopes of the mountain, and there it was erected.

The original cross is long gone, but in 1924 the Société St-Jean Baptiste erected a large steel cross at the summit of Mount Royal to commemorate Maisonneuve's pious act. The illuminated cross remains a well-known landmark today.

At Ville-Marie, the coming of spring brought new danger as the Iroquois learned of the French settlers' presence. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and especially the eastern-most of its five constituent nations, the Mohawk, was at this time well entrenched in the upper St. Lawrence valley. Having effectively pushed out rival nations like the Wendat — or Huron — and the Algonquin, the Iroquois were in no mood to give up what they had won to a new invader.

Since the French were well armed — they even had a small cannon — the Iroquois avoided frontal attacks. Instead, they started a campaign of attrition, picking off the colonists one by one as they ventured out to tend their crops or chop timber. And so it was that on June 9, 1643, Bernard Berté, Guillaume Boissier, and Pierre Laforest became the first of Ville-Marie's settlers to be killed.

They were at work some one hundred metres from the stockade when about forty Iroquois emerged from the bush. The three men were immediately killed and scalped; three others were captured and tortured. One escaped the next day and made his way back to Ville-Marie, but the bodies of the remaining two were never found.

Henceforth it was a rare work party that did not include armed



Jeanne Mance and Marguerite Bourgeoys nurse a scalped soldier. From an illustration of an exhibit at the Musée Historique Canadien Inc., a Montréal wax museum that closed in 1989.

guards, but even so the casualties mounted. Morale began to suffer. Some of the more hot-headed among them began grumbling about Maisonneuve's defensive style of leadership, which they saw as cowardly.

To warn them of imminent attacks, the small colony relied on a pack of dogs led by a female named Pilote. Late in March 1644, the animals began to bark wildly, sensing a war party nearby. This

time, rather than wait passively in the little fort, Maisonneuve led his men outside and into the snow. The going was slow, for only a few had snowshoes.

Suddenly the warriors were upon them, and a fierce fight ensued. The French retreated with Maisonneuve guarding the rear. But before he could reach safety he was surrounded. According to Dollier's account, the warriors parted to allow their chief to step forward and

claim Maisonneuve as a prisoner. Maisonneuve had a pistol in each hand, but the first one misfired. The chief leapt at him just as the second pistol fired properly. The chief fell dead, and his shocked companions, rather than pressing the attack, scooped up his body and retreated. Alone, Maisonneuve reached the safety of the fort. From then on, no one questioned his courage — or the need for prudence.

The other enemy, the unpredictable St. Lawrence, remained a concern, and the settlers were soon moving to occupy higher land across the sluggish Rivière Saint-Pierre. The rudimentary hospital Jeanne Mance had established in the autumn of 1642 was

THIS TIME, RATHER THAN WAIT PASSIVELY IN THE FORT, MAISONNEUVE LED HIS MEN OUTSIDE AND INTO THE SNOW.

transferred to more substantial quarters there in 1645; this was the beginning of today's Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, one of Canada's great health centres. In that year as well, a truce of sorts was concluded between the French, the Huron, and the Algonquin, on one side, and the Iroquois on the other. The people of Ville-Marie also won the right to join the fur trade.

New drafts of settlers dribbled in, and the population slowly increased. There were even a few soldiers. In 1648 the first plots beyond the stockade, in the vicinity of the Hôtel-Dieu, were deeded over to individual pioneers; the fifty-four-year-old Pierre Gadoys became Ville-Marie's first habitant, farming some sixteen hectares of his own land. Construction was begun on a gristmill.

The truce did not endure. The Iroquois swept through the lands near Georgian Bay, driving out the Huron. Two Jesuit missionaries were among the hundreds who were killed in 1649. Hundreds more sought refuge with the French.

"During the whole of this year," Dollier writes, "nothing was seen but the coming of Hurons fleeing from the savagery of the Iroquois and seeking refuge with us." Many of the refugees eventually made their way downstream to Québec, where some of their descendants can be found to this day on the Wendake Reserve. Others were absorbed into the Haudenosaunee nations through adoption.

The terrifying spectacle of so many people on the run served warning that Ville-Marie could expect "the whole shock of the Iroquois attack," Dollier wrote, "since ... they had nothing more to check their conquests further up the river."

So great was the danger that Maisonneuve ordered everyone back to the fort, and the communal living of 1642 resumed. Mance's Hôtel-Dieu was closed, or rather its stone building was converted from a hospital to an outpost where armed men were stationed at all times.

But the casualties continued. By 1651, according to the *Jesuit Relations*, Ville-Marie was reduced to about fifty French, Huron, and Algonquin inhabitants. By the autumn of 1651, the continued attacks had left the normally resolute Maisonneuve near despair. But then Mance intervened. She had some twenty-two thousand livres in hand, the gift of a benefactor in France for the maintenance of her hospital, but she realized that if Ville-Marie fell there'd be no hospital to maintain. She offered the money to Maisonneuve so that he could go to France and enlist help. He accepted the gift, stating that if he did not come back with at least a hundred new people he would direct those remaining in Ville-Marie to give up and return to the motherland.

He was gone for two years. The hard-pressed settlement hung on precariously, fortunate that Maisonneuve had appointed the doughty Lambert Closse as sergeant major in charge of the town's defences. Sometimes Iroquois blockades on the St. Lawrence cut off Ville-Marie completely from Trois-Rivières and Québec.

Meanwhile, Maisonneuve succeeded in raising even more money in France, which in turn allowed him to recruit a substantial body of new settlers. By the spring of 1653, he had 154 men under contract. They included various tradesmen — a carpenter, a cooper, a gunsmith, a mason, a brewer — and two surgeons.

By the time they were ready to sail in June, nearly fifty of the prospective settlers had bailed out. But the rest, including more than a dozen *filles à marier* — young women recruited to marry

French men at Ville-Marie — were ready to go. Also on board was thirty-three-year-old Marguerite Bourgeoys. Soon to be the founder of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, to this day an important teaching order, she would have an effect on Montréal's evolution no less profound than Mance's. Bourgeoys was canonized in 1982 as Canada's first female saint.

Maisonneuve's return voyage was rough. The ship turned out to be old and unseaworthy and had to be sailed back to the French port of Saint-Nazaire. The soldiers on board would have abandoned the enterprise except, as Bourgeoys wrote, "Monsieur de Maisonneuve left all of his soldiers on an island from which it was impossible to escape. Otherwise none would have stayed with us. A few of them tried to escape by throwing themselves into the water."

It took a month to repair the ship (or perhaps to obtain another one), and it was late September before the ship finally reached Québec, where it promptly ran aground and began springing new leaks. It had to be burned in the river. Meanwhile, disease on board had taken the lives of at least eight passengers. Just over a hundred survived, but they were enough. After a delay of several weeks — the time it took to build new boats to take the settlers upriver — the company arrived at Ville-Marie in November of 1653, tripling the town's population.

Dollier's history records the impact the newcomers would have. "As soon as the company ... arrived, work was begun on the hospital's chapel and the enlargement of its buildings," he writes. The *filles à marier* married and were soon starting families. Unlike the *filles du roi* who started arriving in New France in 1663 for the same purpose, the *filles à marier* did not receive a dowry from the king.

"Notwithstanding the work of building, the cultivation of the soil, and these marriages," Dollier continues, "everyone was so much on the alert that the enemy found great difficulty in doing us any harm. From that time on, we began to instil in them a degree of fear which checked them from interfering with our enterprise in the way they had done before."

Dollier was being optimistic, as it turned out, for the threat of Iroquois attacks lingered for a few more decades.

In 1665 the 1,100-strong Carignan-Salières Regiment arrived from France while Maisonneuve — who had for some years been at odds with authorities in Québec — was recalled to Paris. The presence of the French soldiers led to a peace agreement in 1667, but it was a precarious peace, strained by conflicts tied to the expansion of the fur trade by the French and the English.

In 1687, a large French force entered what is now western New York State, burning villages belonging to the Seneca, an Iroquoian nation allied with the English, and destroying vast stores of corn — about 1.2 million bushels.

In revenge — and with the encouragement of English colonists, since England was now at war with France — a large band of Iroquois warriors attacked Île de Montréal at the village of Lachine in 1689. (Lachine had been established about fifteen kilometres upstream from Ville-Marie, above the Lachine Rapids, in 1667.) About two dozen French were killed and sixty or so kidnapped.

Only with the Great Peace of Montréal, signed in 1701 by the French and some forty First Nations, including the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, did the fighting essentially end.

THE IROQUOIS PERSPECTIVE

For the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Montréal 375 is no cause for celebration.

Imagine strangers suddenly arriving at your home and claiming it as their own. Pushing you aside, they use violence to make you accept this new reality. And now imagine having this dark moment publicly celebrated and commemorated.

Such is the reality for the Haudenosaunee Confederacy when it comes to marking the 375th anniversary of the founding of Ville-Marie, now Montréal.

"To me it's the colonizers' way of celebrating something that is very atrocious, in what I see as the theft of land, the theft of culture, and dignity, and humanity of the [Haudenosaunee peoples]," said Hazel King, director of the Haudenosaunee Development Institute, the official voice of the confederacy on matters of land jurisdiction and development.

Early history books often portrayed the Haudenosaunee, also known as the Iroquois, as the villains in the story of New France — a constant threat to the French colonists and their Huron and Algonquin allies. Indeed, one of the first things Samuel de Champlain did after founding Québec in 1608 was to join his new Indigenous partners in 1609 in an attack on the Iroquois at Lake Champlain.

King says this stereotype of "Iroquois-as-villains" ignores the complexity of the relationships that existed between Indigenous peoples prior to contact with Europeans. And it doesn't address the ulterior motives of the colonizers, who benefitted from pitting various Indigenous peoples against each other.

"That's what the French were after — it was the land and it was the resources," she said. "It's always been the land and the resources. And if they can have the Indians fighting each other — and if they can incite wars between the Hurons and the Iroquois and so on — to me, the settlers have always been able to manipulate our people."



Hazel King, director of the Haudenosaunee Development Institute.

King encourages Canadians to use Montréal 375 as an opportunity to learn the history of the Indigenous peoples who lived in the region before the founding of Ville-Marie.

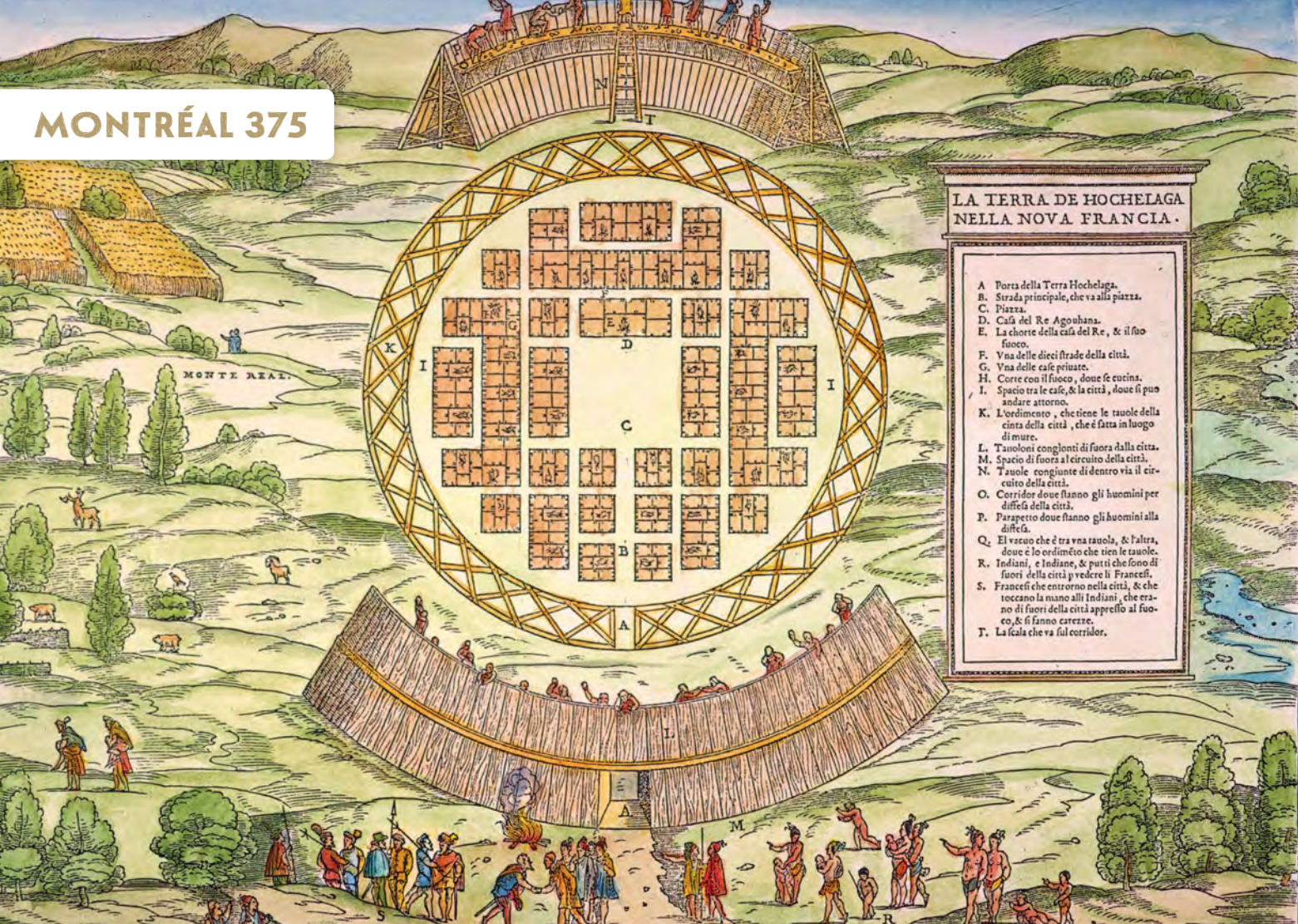
"We know the history of the land in a different perspective than is being taught in schools," she said. "There will be many, many children in schools that will be ... looking at the history of Montréal for 375 years. But what do they know of the history before that time?"

— Mark Collin Reid

Consequently, Ville-Marie flourished. Although the community's religious vocation remained strong, other preoccupations — chiefly trade and farming — gained prominence. The name Montréal was already displacing Ville-Marie, as if to further distance the community from its religious roots. It didn't much matter: Whatever its name, the community would survive. In 1992, the Pointe-à-Callière Museum — named after Montréal's third governor — was established on the same spot where the city's founders had celebrated their first mass.

From its fragile beginnings three hundred and seventy-five years ago, Montréal has grown into a diverse metropolis of some four million people. Throughout 2017, its rich history will be celebrated through historical re-enactments, public concerts, street theatre, and much else besides. It will be quite a show, for nowhere else in Canada do French and English language and culture so vibrantly interact.

As Father Vimont predicted almost four centuries ago, the community of Ville-Marie has evolved from a seed "into a great tree, one day to achieve wonders." 🌳



LA TERRA DE HOCHELAGA
NELLA NOVA FRANCIA.

- A Porta della Terra Hochelaga.
- B. Strada principale, che va alla piazza.
- C. Piazza.
- D. Casa del Re Agouhana.
- E. La corte della casa del Re, & il suo fuoco.
- F. Vna delle dieci strade della città.
- G. Vna delle case private.
- H. Corte con il fuoco, doue se cucina.
- I. Spazio tra le case, & la città, doue si può andare attorno.
- K. L'ordimento, che tiene le tavole della cinta della città, che è fatta in luogo di mura.
- L. Tavole congiunte di fuori dalla città.
- M. Spazio di fuori al circuito della città.
- N. Tavole congiunte di dentro via il circuito della città.
- O. Corridor doue stanno gli huomini per difesa della città.
- P. Parapetto doue stanno gli huomini alla difesa.
- Q. El vauco che è tra vna tavola, & l'altra, doue è lo ordimento che tien le tavole.
- R. Indiani, e Indiane, & putti che sono di fuori della città a vedere li Francesi.
- S. Francesi che entrano nella città, & che toccano la mano alli Indiani, che erano di fuori della città appresso al fuoco, & si fanno carere.
- T. La scala che va sul corridor.

THE MYSTERY VILLAGE

BEFORE THERE WAS MONTRÉAL, THERE WAS HOCHELAGA – A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY THAT MYSTERIOUSLY VANISHED. BY DARREN BONAPARTE

In 1535, French explorer Jacques Cartier and his crew became the first Europeans to set foot on the island of Montréal. They found a village there of well over a thousand people who were anxious to greet the newcomers. His description of what he saw has mesmerized readers for almost half a millenium:

"And in the middle of these fields is situated and stands the village of Hochelaga, near and adjacent to a mountain, the slopes of which are fertile and are cultivated, and from the top of which one can see for a long distance. We named this mountain Mount Royal.

"The village is circular and is completely enclosed by a wooden palisade in three tiers like a pyramid... There are some fifty houses in this village, each about fifty or more paces in length, and twelve or fifteen in width, built completely of wood and covered in and bordered up with large pieces of bark and rind of trees, as broad as a table,

which are well and cunningly lashed after their manner. And inside these houses are many rooms and chambers; and in the middle is a large space without a floor, where they light their fire and live together in common."

In February 2015, photojournalist Robert Galbraith brought the construction of a major building in downtown Montréal to a halt. He raised the alarm that excavators digging to install a sewer system might be destroying Hochelaga, the Iroquoian village visited by Cartier. As archaeologists went to work, media attention focused on the mystery of Hochelaga's location.

Cartier found no trace of the village or its people when he returned to the area in 1541. Nor did Samuel de Champlain, the next explorer to reach the island, in 1608. Sir John William Dawson thought he found it south of Sherbrooke Street between Mansfield and Metcalfe streets in the 1860s. In the early 1970s, archaeologists

James Pendergast and Bruce Trigger studied the artifacts but were unable to confirm that the Dawson site was the village of fifty longhouses described by Cartier.

The discovery of Indigenous burials and artifacts near the Dawson site in 2015 excited public interest that the mystery of Hochelaga's location might finally be solved.

This was not the only mystery of Hochelaga. We have also been perplexed by the people who lived there. Who were they, and what became of them?

The answers have been slow to emerge. In the nineteenth century, when archaeology was in its infancy, scholarly opinion on the cultural identity of the Hochelagans ranged from the Huron to the Mohawk. Eventually it became evident that they were distinct from these groups, despite similarities in language and culture. There may have been as many as twenty-five nations of these "St. Lawrence Iroquoians" living along the St. Lawrence River from Lake Ontario to the area downstream from Quebec City.

What became of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians is another matter. According to many popular histories, they vanished without a trace – a spooky Canadian version of the lost colony of Roanoke. (Roanoke was a sixteenth-century English settlement on an island in what is today North Carolina.) But before we relegate the people of Hochelaga to the Bigfoot and UFO section of the library, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that they were absorbed by neighbouring tribes. (The missing English colonists of Roanoke probably were as well.)

It has been suggested that Cartier's party brought illness that weakened the population to the point where their enemies were able to attack them. They were either taken captive by these enemies or sought refuge among friends. "The presumption is that Hochelaga ceased to exist between 1541 and 1603, possibly circa AD 1580," Pendergast wrote in 1998.

There is evidence in the *Jesuit Relations* that at least some Hochelagans had a presence in the Montréal area well after the dispersal. In 1642, French settlers met some of them and heard their story as they were given the grand tour following a religious festival on August 15. Father Barthélemy Vimont wrote this report:

"We visited the great forest which covers this Island; and when we had been led to the mountain from which it takes its name, two of the chief *Sauvages* of the band stopped on its summit, and told us that they belonged to the nation of those who had formerly dwelt on this Island.

"Then, stretching out their hands towards the hills that lie to the East and South of the mountain, 'There,' said they, 'are the places where stood Villages filled with great numbers of *Sauvages*. The Hurons, who then were our enemies, drove our Forefathers from this country. Some went towards the country of the Abnakiouis, others towards the country of the Hiroquois, some to the Hurons themselves, and joined them. And that is how this Island became deserted.'"

Evidence of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, in the form of



Above: A French artist's depiction of Iroquois women grinding corn or dried berries while a baby naps in its cradleboard, circa 1664.

Left: The Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) village of Hochelaga, in the area of present-day Montréal. Colour woodcut from Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Delle Navigazioni e Viaggi*, circa 1556.

pottery and pipes, has been found at excavations of Huron, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Abenaki villages. This would seem to confirm the words of the local guides in 1642.

People from each of these nations would make their way to the St. Lawrence River valley and settle there permanently. Some would even live for a time at the Mission de la Montagne, established by the Sulpicians of the island of Montréal in 1676. Stone towers built there in 1694 overlook Sherbrooke Street, just over a kilometre from the archaeology site that may be Hochelaga.

Another group with ties to Hochelaga may have been the Ononchataronon, an "Algonquin" band that was said to live along the South Nation River in eastern Ontario in the seventeenth century. This group claimed to have been the original occupants of Île de Montréal with extensive lands on both sides of the St. Lawrence River. According to the *Jesuit Relations*, there was an attempt by the French to induce them to settle the island again in 1646, but "they soon scattered on account of the Iroquois." Jesuit priest and historian Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix visited the area in 1721 and noted that the Ononchataronon no longer existed.

Another clue comes from the south shore of the St. Lawrence, home of the Kahnawà:ke Mohawks. The oral traditions of the community link them to Île de Montréal as well. The Mohawk word for it is Tiohtià:ke, "where the people divide." Could the origin of this word have something to do with the dispersal of the Hochelagans?

As archaeologists continue to search beneath the streets of metropolitan Montréal, perhaps new discoveries will help to shed light on its Indigenous predecessor, Hochelaga. 🐾

MONTRÉAL IN TIME

by Mathieu Drouin

Montréal is a blend of pleasant contradictions. A theatre of war and heartbreak, the metropolis is also a place where peace treaties were signed. It is French, British, Indigenous, new-Canadian and all of these at once. In a Montréal with resilient traditions lives a centripetal force that attracts novelty with its light. It is also centrifugal, as a preferred point of departure for courageous people and innovations of every kind. Thousands of pieces form its historical patchwork quilt. Here are a few of them:

2000 BC EARLIEST HUMAN PRESENCE

The island is inhabited several millennia before the arrival of Europeans. At the end of the Laurentian Archaic period or the beginning of the Early Woodland period, ancestors of a great part of Québec's Indigenous people were already hunting, gathering, and cultivating around the St. Lawrence River. Stone tools found in the Montréal area are believed to be about four thousand years old.



1775 MONTRÉAL IS BRIEFLY OCCUPIED BY THE AMERICANS

In 1775, discontent shakes the Thirteen Colonies, and rebels foment a revolt in a dispute over taxes and other issues of colonial administration. The unrest is fuelled by the signing of the Québec Act of 1774, which raises the ire of anti-Catholic English Protestants because it protects French and Catholic cultures in America and offers Montréal merchants a significant advantage on fur resources.

Revolutionary grievances are echoed in the colony, mainly in Montréal, where a pro-American movement appears.

American troops led by Richard Montgomery appear on Canadian soil, capturing Fort Saint-Jean and then Montréal after British General Guy Carleton (pictured above) withdraws his troops from the city. The city is occupied from November 28, 1775, to May 9, 1776, when the failure of the siege of Québec forces the revolutionary troops to fall back to New York. Despite their failure to hold Canada, the rebels achieve their revolution, and a new country is born in the south. The 1783 Treaty of Paris seals the victory.

From 1775 on, around eighty thousand citizens faithful to the Crown immigrate to Canada. Few go directly to Montréal but, because it is a growing economic centre, the city eventually draws in many Loyalists.





OCTOBER 3, 1535

JACQUES CARTIER VISITS HOCHELAGA

French explorer and cartographer Jacques Cartier and a small troop of two dozen men approach Hochelaga, a St. Lawrence Iroquoian fortified village. The small town surrounded by corn fields is built atop a hill, near a mountain that Cartier will name Mons Realis (Latin for Mount Royal).

According to the explorer's estimation, Hochelaga is home to more than a thousand people. After generally cordial exchanges, Cartier returns upstream to Stadacona (which later becomes the site of the village of Québec). At Stadacona, Cartier kidnaps Chief Donnacona and nine other St. Lawrence Iroquois and takes them to France in the spring of 1536, where most of them die. News about the exquisite furs of the New World spreads rapidly on the continent.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1760

MONTRÉAL SURRENDERS TO THE BRITISH

After a decisive British victory on the Plains of Abraham and the capture of Québec City, British troops assemble under Jeffrey Amherst and march towards Montréal. After a couple of hours of negotiation, Montréal surrenders with conditions that will shape the cohabitation of the French and British in British North America. First, civic laws were to respect the Custom of Paris, landowners and merchants were to keep their property, and the Roman Catholic faith would be guaranteed free expression. Then, Indigenous allies of the French would be allowed to retain their possessions. Finally, French archives would be protected – a stroke of luck for modern historians.

The British regime officially starts in 1763 after the signing of the Treaty of Paris. However, the war years have devastated the colony, which is literally in ruins. British institutions are progressively put in place as the country is transformed into a British colony.



MAY 17, 1642

MAISONNEUVE AND MANCE FOUND THE MISSION OF VILLE-MARIE

After establishing Québec in 1608 and Trois-Rivières in 1634, the French government plans a third settlement on the island of Montréal. The Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal is founded in 1639 to make the settlement a reality. Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve, a young, ambitious nobleman who desires to become a missionary, and Jeanne Mance, a nurse with multiple talents, are chosen to fulfil the mission.

Departing from La Rochelle, France, in May 1641, the founders and their crew arrive in Québec in the fall and spend the winter in nearby Sillery. As soon as the ice covering the St. Lawrence River has thawed, the settlers board a boat again and arrive near the location of Hochelaga in May 1642. They dedicate their new settlement to the Virgin Mary by naming it Ville-Marie, a name that will be replaced a few decades later by Montréal.

Located near major Indigenous trade routes, Montréal soon becomes an important crossroads for the fur trade. Its advantageous location next to Huronia also makes it the ideal point of departure for evangelization missions.

1701

THE GREAT PEACE OF MONTRÉAL IS SIGNED BY FRANCE AND MORE THAN THIRTY FIRST NATIONS

Montréal becomes a hub of the fur trade in the seventeenth century. An annual fur fair takes place there every summer. At the same time, conflicts arise among the First Nations for control of natural resources. Many attempts to maintain peace through military domination or through peace treaties fail. Complex economic, political, and military links between the Indigenous nations and their European allies prevent successful negotiations. A more global approach is needed.



A major step forward takes place in 1700 when France and the five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy – who are allied with the British – reach a first agreement. This gives France the necessary legitimacy to invite the nations surrounding the Great Lakes to a meeting in the summer of 1701. About 1,300 delegates representing thirty nations arrive. After lengthy discussions, all the parties gathered ratify the Great Peace of Montréal.

This major and unique diplomatic treaty (pictured above with signatures representing clan or personal totems) allows the reopening of large-scale commerce, and serves as a basis for future negotiations. The Great Peace of Montréal is an agreement still observed by several First Nations today.



1783

MONTREAL IN A FUR COAT

The American Revolution and the new boundary delineation profoundly changes the fur trade. The impossibility of exploiting resources south of the Great Lakes compels travelling merchants, who were well funded by new British immigrants in Quebec, to go further north, near Hudson Bay.

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) already holds many fur-trading posts in the North, but the newcomers achieve better results. This situation pushes the HBC to found new trading posts in the interior. In 1783, the new North West Company is founded in Montréal, igniting a fierce rivalry with the HBC. After armed confrontations, the government forces the two companies to amalgamate.

Strong competitive pressure from American companies encourages the newly merged company to explore and found new posts in the West. As the fur trade declines, colonization becomes more important. As a result, railroads are built, and Montréal becomes an important rail centre.



THE 1960s & 1970s

QUIET REVOLUTION, EXPO 67 AND THE 1976 OLYMPIC GAMES

The Quiet Revolution – a set of social, political, religious, and economic changes in Quebec during the 1960s – has a lasting impact on Montréal. The metropolis modernizes itself and becomes once again an international hot spot for innovation and avant-gardism.

In 1967, Canada's centennial year, Montréal hosts the world's fair. It displays its know-how in architecture, urban design, and technology. There are about fifty million paid admissions to Expo 67 – a number more than twice the Canadian population.

Nine years later, Montréal hosts the Olympic Games, to date the only Summer Games ever held in Canada.

1825

OPENING OF THE LACHINE CANAL

Since the beginning of European exploration of the St. Lawrence River, the Lachine Rapids have been a major obstacle preventing boats from reaching the Great Lakes. The rapids hinder the transport of merchandise and the development of settlements upstream.

After several postponements in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, work starts in 1821 on the Lachine Canal. It is completed in 1825. However, the Erie Canal, further south, is already in operation, and Montréal cannot rival New York.

Ocean ships from Québec could nonetheless go further upstream and – especially after the dredging of the St. Lawrence River in 1854 – stop in Montréal. Strong wood, iron, and wheat industries develop around the canal, and the metropolis benefits, becoming a predominant industrial centre in Canada.



MARCH 17, 1955

RICHARD RIOT

Maurice Richard, right winger for the Montreal Canadiens, is considered not only a sports star, but also a role model for French Canadians. On March 15, 1955, in a game against the Boston Bruins, Richard is held from behind by a referee during a brawl as Hal Laycoe, a Bruin, punches him recklessly. Richard breaks free and punches the referee in the face.

He is suspended for the rest of the regular season and the playoffs, a decision that virtually eradicates any chance of the Montreal Canadiens winning the Stanley Cup. Incensed fans start a riot. This violent demonstration is considered by many to be an early sign of the Quiet Revolution.



APRIL 25, 1849 BURNING OF THE PARLIAMENT IN MONTRÉAL

In 1837-38, following years of tensions between Lower Canada's anglophone Protestant minority and its francophone Catholic majority, French Canadians revolt against the refusal of the British Crown to give responsible government to Lower Canada. Not long afterwards, a more short-lived revolt takes place in Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) to protest the rule of a privileged oligarchy. Both rebellions are repressed, and the two provinces are fused as the United Province of Canada, with the capital established in Montréal.



The armed uprisings and their repression result in heavy property damage. Citizens in English-speaking Canada receive compensation for damage caused by the Upper Canada Rebellion. But when laws are passed at the Parliament of Montréal to similarly compensate French Canadians, many British citizens in Montréal protest because they see it as a payment for disloyalty.

When the legislation receives final assent by Governor General Lord Elgin on April 25, 1849, anger turns to violence. A disgruntled mob assaults the governor, breaks into Parliament, and burns it to the ground. Because of the fire, the capital moves first to Toronto and then to Ottawa in 1857.



OCTOBER 29, 1929 THE STOCK MARKET CRASH

Along with other markets, the Montreal Stock Exchange, then the most important in Canada, plunges. Some stocks lose as much as forty per cent of their value. The most affected people are small savers, some of whom bought stocks on credit.

Hard times follow as unemployment soars. Manufacturing and transport industries close their shops following a slow-down in production and exports. During the winter of 1932-33, nearly a quarter of Montréal's population relies on government aid and charities to survive. As a remedy, the province starts a back-to-the-land program. City dwellers leave to settle in remote regions such as Abitibi-Témiscamingue.

The Second World War eventually brings renewed prosperity, with Montréal becoming a major production centre for ammunition and other war goods.



1856 MONTRÉAL, RAILROAD CAPITAL

By 1850, Montréal is already a dominant economic centre in Canada. The Lachine Canal has eased the shipping of merchandise, and the establishment of a railroad system has further strengthened its leading position.

In 1856, a bold project linking Montréal to Toronto is inaugurated: the Grand Trunk Railway. After several acquisitions, the Grand Trunk exploits railways between Portland, Maine, and Sarnia, Ontario. In Montréal, business offices are later opened for the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National railways.

The combined effects of the railroads and the waterway give Montréal an edge to become a vital commercial exchange city. It is also the obvious choice as the point of departure for many settlers moving to new provinces in Western Canada.

1900 MONTRÉAL BECOMES A CANADIAN BANKING CENTRE

Thanks to opportunities provided by the railroads and the Lachine Canal, new industries and manufacturers settle in Montréal. Between 1890 and 1910, the population of the city triples.

Banks also take root. The Bank of Montreal, Bank of British North America, Merchants Bank of Canada, Molson Bank, Royal Bank of Canada, Provincial Bank of Canada, Laurentian Bank and many others all open offices in Montréal. Most set up their storefronts in old neighbourhoods, with many on Rue Saint-Jacques, or St. James Street (pictured below).

Fierce competition begins with Toronto to attract capital and to invest in ambitious but risky projects.



FAMOUS FACES

INTRODUCING A FEW OF THE MANY
MONTRÉALERS WHO BECAME IMPORTANT
FIGURES IN CANADIAN HISTORY.

BY MATHIEU DROUIN



JEANNE MANCE: NURSE AND CO-FOUNDER OF MONTRÉAL

Born in 1606 to a bourgeois family in Langres in northwest France, Jeanne Mance founded Montréal's first hospital. She was educated by the Ursulines – a religious order devoted to educating girls and caring for the sick and needy. Later, she likely worked as a nurse at a hospital in her hometown. In 1640, Mance learned that religious women – the Ursulines and Augustinians – had established themselves in Québec and she was inspired to go to New France. She became a member of the Société Notre-Dame de Montréal and obtained funding from benefactor Angélique Bullion to establish a hospital on the island of Montréal.

Mance, Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve, and the rest of the contingent left La Rochelle, France, on two vessels in May 1641. Once in Québec City, she met Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny de la Peltrie, founder of the Ursulines in Québec. Impressed by Mance and her mission, Peltrie decided to join the group. They set off the following spring, reaching Île de Montréal and founding Ville-Marie. Mance quickly established a basic hospital that would later become the Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal. Through her perseverance and dedication to Montréal, Jeanne Mance paved the way for what would become the most important city in Canada between 1880 and 1950.



LOUIS-JOSEPH PAPINEAU: PATRIOTE LEADER AND POLITICIAN

Louis-Joseph Papineau had a reputation as a hero and a defender of the rights of French Canadians, but he was also seen as a traitor to the nation and to the Commonwealth. Born in Montréal in 1786, he grew up at his family's estate and studied law. After being elected to the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, Papineau became the leader of the Parti Canadien, which later became the Patriote party. He campaigned for greater independence for Lower Canada, which was dominated by an influential British minority. He transformed from a moderate politician to a radical, openly attacking institutions such as the Legislative Council, whose non-elected members controlled the country.

In 1834, the Patriotes won a large majority in the Legislative Assembly and prepared a series of reforms, dubbed the Ninety-Two Resolutions, which would allow French Canadians to win power in Lower Canada through responsible government. The project was supported by the Governor General Lord Durham but was rejected by London. This resulted in unrest leading to the Lower Canada Rebellion of 1837–38. The poorly organized revolt was quickly suppressed, and Papineau went into exile. He returned to Canada after being granted amnesty in 1844.

GEORGE-ÉTIENNE CARTIER: FATHER OF CONFEDERATION

George-Étienne Cartier's vision of a Canada that combined the British and French nations was the basis for the creation of our modern country. Cartier was born in 1814 to a merchant family in Saint-Antoine-sur-Richelieu, north of Montréal. He moved to Montréal at the age of ten and entered the Collège de Montréal. Admitted to the bar in 1835, he fought for the rights of the francophone minority and participated in the rebellions of 1837–38 alongside the Patriotes, before going into exile in Vermont. He returned the following year and became more involved in politics, becoming the right-hand man of Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine.

Elected in the Montréal suburb of Verchères, he became co-premier of the unified Province of Canada along with John A. Macdonald. This laid the groundwork for a federation of the British colonies. Cartier persuaded French Canadians that this type of union would be more sympathetic to the French Catholic cause than an alliance with the United States. After 1867, Cartier played a key role in bringing Manitoba and British Columbia into Confederation, secured the repatriation of Rupert's Land, and pushed for the building of the transcontinental railway.





HENRI BOURASSA: MANAGING EDITOR AND POLITICIAN

Henri Bourassa, born in 1868 in Montréal, had a significant impact on Canadian politics through his nationalist position, which still resonates today. Throughout his career in both politics and journalism, he fought for the protection of minorities – namely Canadians in the Commonwealth and French-Canadians outside Québec. The grandson of Patriote Louis-Joseph Papineau, Bourassa was an independent thinker who became a political model for his generation and the next. He refused to take his salary as a Member of Parliament under Wilfrid Laurier and challenged the imperialist tendencies in the cabinet.

Eventually Bourassa resigned from the Liberal party and became an independent MP. He delivered many speeches calling for Canada's complete independence, going so far as to oppose the Dominion's involvement in the First World War. In 1910 he founded the newspaper *Le Devoir* to share his perspective. He gradually gave up politics but still had significant influence. In fact, his plan for Canadian independence from the British Parliament became reality in 1931, with the signing of the Statute of Westminster. By the 1960s, his idea of a bicultural Canada had made its way to Parliament, where it was promoted by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

THÉRÈSE CASGRAIN: SOCIAL JUSTICE CHAMPION

As the first female leader of a political party in Canada, Thérèse Casgrain changed the political landscape forever. Born in Montréal in 1896, Casgrain was the daughter of businessman and politician Sir Rodolphe Forget and Lady Blanche MacDonald. In 1916 she married Pierre Casgrain, a federal Liberal politician. In the 1920s, she helped found the Provincial Franchise Committee for Women's Suffrage and began fighting for the right for women to vote provincially in Québec – a battle that would last more than two decades before victory was achieved. During this time, she also championed human rights while serving on various federal councils and founded several associations that worked for the welfare of women. In 1942, she ran for federal election as a Liberal and lost. In 1951, she was elected as the leader of the Québec wing of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, becoming the first woman to head a Canadian political party. In 1970, then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau appointed Casgrain to the Canadian Senate. She died in 1981, leaving a powerful legacy of championing the rights of women and the underprivileged. 🇨🇦



LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA



YOU CAN HELP CANADA'S HISTORY: **WITH AEROPLAN**

Help recognize Canada's top history teachers!

By donating your extra Aeroplan Miles to Canada's History, you help us fly award-winning teachers to our annual Governor General's History Awards ceremony at Rideau Hall. Donate online at CanadasHistory.ca/Aeroplan



CANADA'S
History



View of Griffintown and downtown Montréal.

Montréal's Griffintown reborn

Historic Irish neighbourhood is enjoying a renaissance. *by Pierre Home-Douglas*

LOCATED JUST A KILOMETRE OR SO southeast of the skyscrapers of downtown Montréal, the sixty-seven-hectare area known as Griffintown once served as the crucible of the Industrial Revolution in Canada. Here, more than a century and a half ago, factories sprang up along a canal that circumvented the same Lachine Rapids that had stopped early French explorer Jacques Cartier in his search for the Northwest Passage to China.

During its heyday in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Griff, as some locals call it, was home to a hardscrabble community of dirt-poor workers. Decades later, wracked by social and economic changes, it turned into a virtual ghost town before being reborn at the dawn of the twenty-first century as a new home for upscale urban dwellers. Today they populate a mushrooming collection of condo towers that stand

within walking distance of recently opened trendy bars, cafés, and restaurants.

When the fortifications that encompassed Old Montréal finally came down in the early 1800s, the area to the southwest, once a seigneurial property, was well placed for development as the city's first suburb. Irish merchant Thomas McCord had already obtained a ninety-year lease on the land. But after McCord returned to Ireland to deal with business issues, an unscrupulous associate sold the land illegally to Mary Griffin. She subdivided the area, laid out the first roads, and built low-cost housing.

McCord eventually received compensation after a protracted legal battle, but the name Griffintown stuck.

Many of its earliest residents helped to build the Lachine Canal. Opened in 1825, the mammoth project provided work for an

ever-increasing influx of mostly Irish immigrants. That turned into a flood after the potato famine of the 1840s forced a half million Irish to seek a better life in North America. The new inhabitants of Griffintown helped to widen and deepen the Lachine Canal, making it suitable for bigger ships that could transport the products from the flour mills, foundries, breweries, sawmills, and textile factories that clustered along the waterway.

The area remained predominately Irish well into the twentieth century, when fortunes started to wane, first with the Great Depression and later when the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 made the canal obsolete for commercial traffic.

The administration of then Montréal Mayor Jean Drapeau declared the zone strictly industrial in 1963, meaning that no residential property could be replaced if it

was destroyed. The building of the Bonaventure Expressway for Expo 67 ripped a wide swath through the area, decimating factories and homes and exiling almost all of Griffintown's remaining residents. The population dropped to fewer than six hundred people.

Fortunately for visitors today, one strip remains of the nineteenth century brick row houses that once served as homes for some of the residents. On the north side of de la Montagne stands a section of red brick townhouses built in the early 1880s.

The houses feature mansard roofs, dormers, and a porte cochère: an opening to allow horse-drawn carts to reach the backyard. Conditions in these homes were bleak — crowded, poorly heated, and a breeding ground for bacteria. In 1846–47, six thousand people from Griffintown and the area just south of the Lachine Canal died from typhus and were buried in a common grave marked by a three-metre high engraved stone near the Victoria Bridge.

In 1852, a fire destroyed half the town. Flooding from the nearby St. Lawrence River caused regular inundations that buried streets under several feet of water.

Opposite the townhouses is a triangular park where the social and spiritual heart of the community once resided. This is the site of St. Ann's Church, which opened in 1854, the second Catholic Church in the city. (St. Patrick's Basilica, which catered to a more upscale Irish population, was completed in 1847.) The closing of St. Ann's and its razing in 1970 is regarded by many as the death knell of the community. Only the remnants of a few foundation walls from the church remain. Park benches are arranged in rows as if to face what would have been the church's old altar.

Very few of the factories from the neighbourhood survive. The oldest one is the New City Gas Company at the corner of Dalhousie and Ottawa. It was built in 1859 of brick and limestone and was used originally to burn coke to produce the gas that lit the streets of Montréal at the time. The building features an iconic roof and walls punctuated by elegantly simple buttresses. One of the designers who worked on the original structure was John Ostell, responsible for the 1837 Arts Building at McGill University, one of Montréal's most recognizable landmarks.

Two blocks southwest, an RAF Liberator bomber crashed on a flight to England in 1944, killing fifteen people. Also nearby



Top: Storefront view of Griffintown.

Middle: Griffintown, circa 1960–70.

Left: Irish immigrants in Griffintown cope with annual spring flooding in this sketch by Edward Jump.

is the Griffintown Horse Palace. There have been stables here since the 1860s, and today they are used to board horses that haul tourist-laden calèches through Old Montréal.

No trip to Griffintown would be complete without a visit to the Lachine Canal, where recreation, not commerce, is now the draw. A paved path next to the canal, extending twelve kilometres from Old Montréal

through Griffintown to Lachine in the west, is a popular spot for visitors. The locks were restored in the 1990s and opened to pleasure boaters in 2002. Along the banks of the canal you can still spot the occasional bollard: black, mushroom-shaped mooring posts that were once used to tie up ships.

Pierre Home-Douglas is a freelance writer living in Montréal.



OPEN BOOK

The great shimmering

Norman Hallendy says his interest in inuksuit (the plural form of inuksuk, as he spells the word) began in 1958 on his first visit to Cape Dorset, in what is now Nunavut. An ethnographer by profession, Hallendy has spent decades travelling the Arctic and writing about the Inuit people he has met and befriended. Along the way he earned the name Apirsuqti — the inquisitive one.

He has also become a leading authority on inuksuit (“objects that act in the capacity of a human”), having previously published books about the stone figures he calls “the most enduring signatures of the Inuit.” In his latest book, An Intimate Wilderness: Arctic Voices in a Land of Vast Horizons, Hallendy relays the stories of Inuit elders and their understanding of the skills and technologies that have allowed their ancestors to survive for thousands of years in the harsh conditions of the Far North.

The inuksuit, he learned, are part of traditional knowledge “focused on one purpose, the taimagiakaman, the great necessity of staying alive.” The figures come in various forms and are used for a range of purposes, including as direction markers, message centres for travellers, and objects to frighten caribou. Knowing an inuksuk’s shape, location, and purpose is essential to understanding its meaning.

While it is common to find one or a few inuksuit, large numbers can be seen in at least two extraordinary places in Sikusiilaq (Foxe Peninsula).

Inuksugalait

by Norman Hallendy

Inuksugalait, or Inukso Point on Geological Survey of Canada maps, is a place of great significance in southwest Baffin.

Designated a National Historic Site, it has origins that go back beyond recorded history. Here at least one hundred inuksuit still stand within an area of approximately three hectares, making this site one of the most spectacular in the eastern Arctic.

No living person in the Cape Dorset area knows the age of Inuksugalait or the reason for its existence. Some believe that the “earliest humans” began erecting inuksuit there before making the journey across the open sea to Sallit Qikiqtanga (Southampton Island). It is also believed that the earliest ancestors of the elders in the Dorset area began building inuksuit at Inuksugalait either before setting out on a hazardous journey or having returned from one. I was told that this practice ended long before anyone now alive in Cape Dorset could remember.

Every type of inuksuk (in a morphological sense) can be found at the site, except the human-like figure known as *inunnguaq*. Some inuksuit are beautiful to look at, where the mere arrangement of stones creates an aesthetic ambience such as that found in a Japanese garden.

In whichever season I visited Inuksugalait, I couldn’t help but be overcome by a sense of spirituality and wonder. Visiting the site in early spring with my great friend Ohito Ashoona was a memorable experience. Ohito was part of a remark-

Over one hundred inuksuit stand together at the hauntingly beautiful site Inuksugalait, on the west coast of Sikusiilaq (Foxe Peninsula) in Nunavut.



able family. He was the grandson of the famous artist Pitseolak Ashoona who had provided me with much valuable information about intricate family relationships in the Cape Dorset area.

At the age of fourteen, Ohito's uncle Namonie had led his family some 160 kilometres across Sikusiilaq after their father died on the journey. Ohito's other uncle, Kiawak, and his father were master carvers whose works are collected by galleries and art collectors throughout the world. Ohito's own work ranks among the finest Inuit art today. Ohito

was every bit as skilled in hunting and travelling in the vast spaces of Sikusiilaq as he once was in navigating the maze of streets in Toronto, where he lived for a short time.

On this day, Ohito, his sixteen-year-old son, and I left Cape Dorset at 10 a.m.,

each hauling a sled with our snowmobiles. Ohito thought it would benefit his son to see "new territory." The young man was familiar with the landscape for the first

few kilometres northwest of Cape Dorset, but after we stopped for our morning mug-up everything looked new to him. From this point onward, Ohito carefully pointed out all significant features to his son.

"Significant features" did not just mean a prominent hill or a bend in a frozen river. Ohito was pointing out the relationship of one hill to another

and the shapes of certain valleys that were important to memorize. This valley might be in the shape of a kidney. That valley resembled a seal lying on the ice. So it went kilometre after kilometre, with Ohito's son noting and memorizing the

shapes of things and their relationships to one another. Even the shape and location of shadows were important to observe, for they could tell you not only how well you were maintaining your course but also how fast you were travelling.

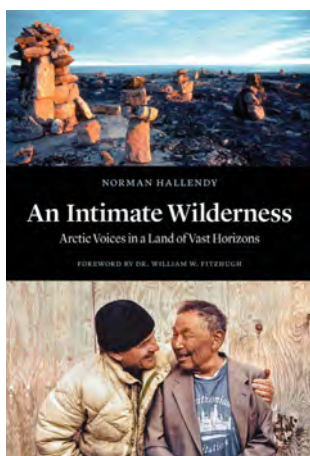
Every so often Ohito would stop, and I could see him gesturing to his son while explaining some very important detail I couldn't even recognize. Watching Ohito teach his son brought back fond memories of my own travels with elders. They explained the necessity of carefully observing such subtle elements as the colours of distant hills, the movement of clouds, the patterns of snowdrifts, the direction of waves, and even the play of ripples on a pond.

We arrived at Inuksugalait almost five hours later. Though it is only a distance of about 104 kilometres as the raven flies, ground travel is considerably more convoluted. In 1964, Charles Gimpel took about twenty-eight hours by snow machine to and from Inuksugalait with stops along the way, whereas our actual travelling time to Inuksugalait and back to Cape Dorset, including mug-ups, and not counting the time spent at Inuksugalait, was a mere nine and a half hours. More powerful snow machines, excellent weather, ideal snow conditions, and the travelling skills of Ohito made for an incredible traverse.

Inuksugalait is known for its overcast days, howling winds, and profusion of polar bears during springtime. The bears give the greatest concern, for they are very hungry and ever-present at that time of the year.

Once we had arrived, Ohito circled about until he found a place to his liking to set up camp. He set up the canvas tent on the side of the hill about a half kilometre from where the inuksuit stood, lashing the tent ropes to each of our five-gallon gas cans. He said that using gas cans has an additional benefit because polar bears dislike the smell of gas. Ohito also pointed out that the location would provide a clear shot at either me or the polar bear — whoever seemed to be in the most trouble.

Having set up camp, we unhitched our sleds and pointed our snow machines back toward the trail. Leaving Ohito and the others behind to decide who would



sleep where and who would cook supper, I headed warily for where the inuksuit stood at Inuksugalait. It is at twilight that the ice reveals the sheer power of the tides and currents that swirl about Inuksugalait. The powerful currents transformed the still-frozen sea into a vast field of icy spires about three metres high, making travel impossible except for polar bears. Where the landfast ice ended and the sea ice began, there stretched a line of fantastic icy shapes formed by the rise and fall of the tide. The impressive sight reminded me of the copperplate engravings in leather-bound books illustrating doomed sailing ships locked in the Arctic ice.

Upon returning to our camp on the hill, I beheld a spectacle of indescribable beauty. The entire seascape of spires was illuminated by the setting sun. They appeared incandescent, their shapes and hues ever-changing as the sun descended to the surface of the frozen sea. I watched this incredible scene in silence. There was not a whisper of wind. I was witnessing *ijarovaujakpok*, the great shimmering. At times like these my old mentor Osuitok Ipeelee would refer to *nunaliriniq*, when we are at one with the land.

Visual aspects of weather conditions also seem to be amplified at Inuksugalait. I watched as the setting sun, for example, cast long plum-coloured shadows from each inuksuk across the land. When seen through a light mist, the site has a haunting quality, as if ghostlike figures move across the landscape. In early spring in the bright light, the place is absolutely dazzling. The inuksuit appear different because wind-driven snow has swirled about their feet and frozen in strange and wondrous shapes.

I've been led to believe that Inuksugalait was a place where people gathered to wait for favourable conditions before making their perilous journeys. They sought the favour of guiding spirits and constructed an inuksuk to show their respect. No doubt travellers constructed some inuksuit to pass the time while they waited for the winds to abate and the seas to calm.

The morning of our departure from Inuksugalait was windless with lightly falling snow. I went to the top of the hill to have one last look. On the day before

our departure the entire landscape had been a vibrant, shimmering place with inuksuit illuminated by the rays of the setting sun. Now seen unlit and through the veil of falling snow, Inuksugalait appeared sombre. The inuksuit standing there looked like shadows. It was as if all were transformed into some distant and forbidding place.

Having travelled with the elders over the years, I had picked up some of their habits, one of these being to quietly thank the things that favoured me: the appearance of game, the conditions of the land, sea, snow, and, especially, the weather. I stood on the hilltop, thanking Sila, the

Seen through a light mist, the site has a haunting quality, as if ghostlike figures move across the landscape.

weather, for the gift of firm snow, brilliant sunlight, windless days, and *ijarovaujakpok*, when one sees the great shimmering.

To my embarrassment, I noticed that Ohito had come up behind me and surely must have heard my conversation with Sila. Before I could utter some excuse, Ohito said, "I came here to do the same thing." I asked him who else he conversed with when out on the land. "Oh, with ravens, hills, clouds, all kinds of things," he said. We both said our thanks and headed back to our camp to pack up and return home.

Our departure from Inuksugalait, like our departure from Cape Dorset, began under a menacing sky and a shower of wet snow flurries. Having studied the texture of the snow in the vicinity, Ohito decided that we would take a different route back to Cape Dorset. He went on to explain that by the time we reached our first mug-up the sun would be out and the snow would begin to soften and make for tougher going than travelling along the coast. Trusting that his conversations with Sila were far more substantive than mine, I readily agreed to his decision.

Within an hour of our departure, the snow had stopped falling, the sky brightened, and, as Ohito had predicted, the sun appeared. Within a short time we came upon fresh, widely spaced wolf tracks, all seeming to indicate vigorous pursuit. Yet we could find no caribou or hare tracks that would have indicated the wolves' quarry. Ohito followed their trail for a short distance, then returned to where we had stopped. "If my uncle Kiawak were here, he would pursue those tracks till he found the wolf, even if it took days." I learned that some hunters had an absolute hatred for wolves.

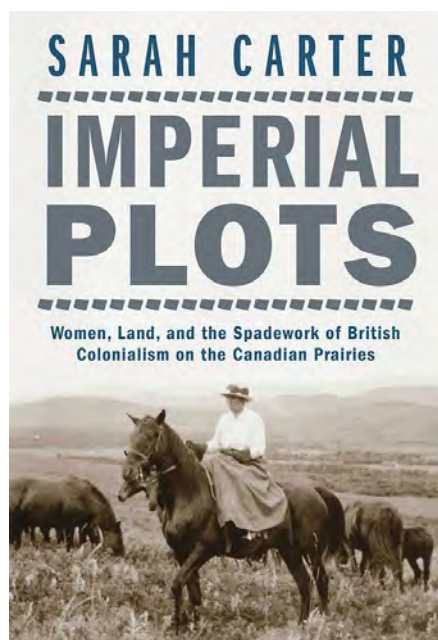
Ohito later went on to explain and demonstrate how he learned from Kov Tunnilie to detect human footprints that were covered by a dusting of snow, as well as other vital signs a hunter must know. He described how he had felt searching for the footprints of his young cousin who got lost in a terrible storm, and then later coming upon the young boy's frozen remains.

We had travelled on a few kilometres and came upon the fresh footprints of at least three separate bears. The varying degrees of sharpness to the prints' edges suggested that they had been made at different times, within days apart. Judging by the size of the prints in relation to the depth of their impression, Ohito concluded that at least one of the bears was starving, one was about a year old, and the other was a large bear headed directly toward the coast. Within a short time, we came upon inuksuit that reminded us that home was but a short distance away.

From An Intimate Wilderness: Arctic Voices in a Land of Vast Horizons, by Norman Hallendy. Reprinted with permission of Greystone Books. 🐾

CanadasHistory.ca/Books

When you visit Chapters-Indigo via our website links and make any purchase, Canada's History receives a commission that supports our publishing and educational programs.



PRECARIOUS HOMESTEADS

Imperial Plots: Women, Land, and the Spadework of British Colonialism on the Canadian Prairies

by Sarah Carter

University of Manitoba Press,
478 pages, \$31.95

Poor Elizabeth Edmundson. She was confined to a Calgary jail for nine months in 1910 for the simple reason that women were not permitted to claim or to “make entry” on homesteads on the Canadian prairies — unless they were widowed and had dependent children. So she lied.

Edmundson, who had fled from New York and a reportedly violent husband, was just one of the many women who succumbed to temptation and altered their situations to fit the criteria for homesteads on Crown land in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Imperial plots, indeed.

During the early years of the last century, as Sarah Carter sharply illustrates, women were scrutinized by government authorities in ways that male homesteaders were not. If a woman took a lover, she risked being disqualified as the “head” of her household — and she could lose the land. As a result of such scrutiny, many of the female homesteaders who told tales just shy of the truth got caught. During an era when divorce was all but impossible to obtain, single mothers often opted to be known as widows in order to become homesteaders.

While many women horned their way into land ownership, others campaigned openly for equal homestead rights for women. This was the mission of Georgina Binnie-Clark, a Brit who fell in love with Saskatchewan in 1905 but was not allowed

to make entry on a homestead as a single woman. Binnie-Clark’s campaign was not successful, though she eventually purchased a farm. Single men over the age of eighteen, however, were encouraged to make entry on 160-acre homesteads. They had to clear and cultivate the land, build a home, and reside in it for six months of the year. After three years, a homesteader who “proved up” was granted a patent for the land.

If anyone can take the topic of colonial settlement on the prairies and make it sing, it’s Carter. A historian in the Faculty of Native Studies at the University of Alberta, her focus is the intersection of gendered colonial-Indigenous relations on the prairies. Her previous and equally illuminating book, *The Importance of Monogamy*, outlined the gendered, racialized terrain of colonial powers and matrimonial laws in the West, where traditional Indigenous unions tended to be more lenient and female-friendly than Christian marriages.

With *Imperial Plots: Women, Land, and the Spadework of British Colonialism on the Canadian Prairies*, Carter has again proven her talents. As the title suggests, plots come in many types. One sort involves the schemes of would-be land-owners like Edmundson, and another is the plots of land themselves.

The other plot Carter identifies — importantly, the one that preceded the two others — is the plot to expand the Domin-

ion of Canada. This involved moving Indigenous people off lands they inhabited and building a railway that would secure the prairies against American encroachment. Carter’s book meticulously documents how the Canadian West was moulded under the Dominion Lands Act of 1872. Indians were not permitted to homestead.

Through her analysis of gender and race, we see how Canada gave much of that rural land to white male farmers — largely, but not exclusively, those of British origins. By examining documents written by and about both single settler women and government officials, *Imperial Plots* provides a valuable correction to the masculinist lens through which prairie history is so often viewed.

Reviewed by **Penni Mitchell**, the managing editor of *Herizons* magazine and the author of *About Canada: Women’s Rights* (Fernwood Publishing), a brief history of women’s rights in Canada.

CHARISMATIC PRAGMATIST

Trudeaumania

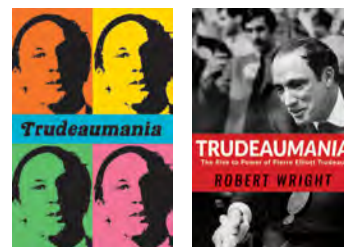
by Paul Litt

UBC Press, 424 pages, \$39.95

Trudeaumania: The Rise to Power of Pierre Elliott Trudeau

by Robert Wright

HarperCollins Publishers,
384 pages, \$32.99



Here are two very good books, published simultaneously on the same subject — the ascendancy of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau. The books’ authors offer very different interpretations of the same phenomena, and there is a large difference in the methodology the authors bring to their common subject. Robert Wright’s book is a well-written, engaging, but almost completely non-theoretical,

narrative-type history, while Paul Litt, equally literate in his style and his ability to engage the reader, ventures into theories of technology and postmodernism that call on such philosophical luminaries as Jean-François Lyotard and Jean Baudrillard.

The objects of their gaze are the extraordinary events of 1967–68. In 1967 Canada joyfully lived its centenary year. Canadians, it seemed, were breaking free

of prudery and convention. Expo 67 in Montréal represented the country as a place of experiment and creativity. Yet, as Wright emphasizes, Canada was at the very same time in crisis, its politics nearly broken and derelict. Nationalism was increasingly ascendant in Québec. The very year of Expo was also the year René Lévesque formed the movement that would become the Parti Québécois.

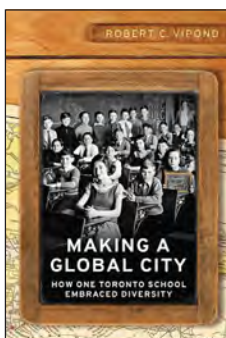
When all seemed lost, an unlikely saviour rode to the rescue. A relatively inexperienced intellectual from Montréal, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, came from nowhere and in an astounding rise to power won the Liberal leadership race in April 1968 and the subsequent election two months later. He won these, apparently, with a disarming display of charisma. Trudeaumania had arrived.

Wright's argument is that Trudeau's triumphs had nothing to do with charisma, or television, or the new nationalism of the sixties, but everything to do with Trudeau's ideas. In Wright's view, Trudeau was not a man of the future but a man of the past who had been honing his intellectual position since 1955 or thereabouts. He advocated an entrenched charter of rights, bilingualism, equality of opportunity, equalization, greater democratic participation, an independent role for Canada in the world, and, in regards to the constitution, opposition to special status for Québec. As Wright puts it very succinctly, Trudeau was not in fact a creature of the screen but of texts: "It was the power of his ideas that impressed the 45.5 per cent of Canadians who voted for him in 1968."

Wright explicitly itemizes three "myths" about the rise of Trudeau that he wishes to refute, all of them, as it turns out, central to Litt's position: first, that Trudeau's triumph depended on the new nationalism of 1967; next, that he was victorious as a result of his ability to dominate and manipulate television; and, finally, that all of his triumphs flowed from a grand strategy of imagery and style.

Litt's account is less categorical and much more nuanced. He does not doubt that Trudeau had a fine mind and that he had spent a long time refining his political views. He too notices that Trudeau expressed a steady opposition to Québec nationalism. But his view is that Trudeau was something more: He was innately comfortable with the new requirements of television, and he was, willy-nilly, part of the new nationalism that was taking hold of urban, professional, managerial English Canada and that helped to catapult Trudeau to high office. The year 1967 had spawned a new self-confidence

New from University of Toronto Press



Making a Global City

How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity

by Robert Vipond

'Robert Vipond gives us the widescreen story of Canada's difficult transformation into a plural and diverse nation by taking a detailed look at 70 years of history of a single public school, its students, and its community.'

Doug Saunders, *The Globe and Mail*



SickKids

The History of The Hospital for Sick Children

by David Wright

From a local hospital serving underprivileged children to a world-renowned leader in pediatric care, the growth of SickKids is an essential part of the history of medicine in Canada.



Celebrating Canada

Holidays, National Days, and the Crafting of Identities

edited by Matthew Hayday and Raymond Blake

'This volume's great achievement lies in its breadth. It explores not one Canada, but many... A fascinating study, full of the lives Canadians and their Canadas have led and lead still.'

Norman Hillmer, *Carleton University*



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

Advancing Knowledge

utppublishing.com



ON FINE ICE Skating rinks have evolved tremendously since the late 1800s, as have their roles as centres for entertainment and social interaction. The above image shows Saint John, New Brunswick's Victoria Skating Rink, which opened in 1865. Designed by architect Charles Walker and constructed of wood, it was some fifty metres in diameter. Howard Shubert's *Architecture on Ice: A History of the Hockey Arena* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 328 pages, \$49.95) follows the designs of enclosed rinks and arenas in Canada and the United States, up to and including the multi-purpose complexes that host today's National Hockey League teams.

among urban, middle-class Canadians; Expo 67 and its experimental, psychedelic, and even sexually subversive atmosphere stood in contrast to the travails of the United States at the time, especially over the war in Vietnam.

Suddenly it became possible to imagine Canada as the peaceable kingdom — and not just as unique, but avant-garde as well. Litt's claim is that by 1968 journalists and commentators in print, television, and radio — especially in the “cosmopolitan” centres of Toronto, Ottawa, Montréal, and Vancouver — had grown tired of the boring rivalries of John Diefenbaker and Lester Pearson. They wanted a new politics, and they believed they had found it with the advent of Trudeau. Advertising executives, and artists, and fashion designers became cheerleaders for Trudeau, and for the Liberals as well. What they brought about, according to Litt, was a “mod” style of politics, an all-encompassing brand that was exciting and titillating but ultimately politically safe. A new Canada had been born.

Where Litt is impressive is in his theoretical reach. In a crucial distinction, he

uses one of Baudrillard's insights about how modern technology has displaced “reality” and created a world of its own, a world of “ephemeral images on screens,” a simulacrum of reality. In Trudeau's case, through its fusion with an emergent nationalism, it created something he calls “simunationalism.” Part of the then-new media of television, Litt claims, made politics less about character and more about personality. To be successful the political leader must be a dramatic television performer. In this regard Trudeau was a stunning success. He delighted in playing to the cameras.

Litt's advantage in this battle of competing interpretations is that his perspective is able to accommodate many factors, rather than emphasizing just one as Wright does. The latter's point of view needs to be informed by that other integral feature of Trudeau's character: his pragmatism. Trudeau was a fine intellect, but he was also a man of action who shaped his ideas as a prelude to actual engagement. As a pragmatist he was prepared to seize the moment and its context. Trudeau's brilliance was that he could master the lecture hall *and*



Canada's Dream Shall Be of Them

Canadian Epitaphs of the Great War

Eric McGeer and Steve Douglas
Foreword by Terry Copp

An anthology of epitaphs drawn from the war cemeteries where Canadian soldiers lie buried in Flanders and France. Photographs and war art will transport readers to the sites, and each chapter will review the sources and themes of the epitaphs to establish their place in the national memory of the First World War.

April 2017 | 220 pages | \$49.99 hardcover
100 illus. | 978-1-77112-310-5



www.wlupress.wlu.ca
facebook.com/wlupress
twitter.com/wlupress

the TV screen. Appreciating such multiple talents fits more easily into Litt's account of him than Wright's.

Reviewed by **Allen Mills**, a professor of political science at the University of Winnipeg and the author of *Citizen Trudeau, 1944-1965: An Intellectual Biography*.

PACIFIC HARBOUR

Britannia's Navy on the West Coast of North America 1812-1914

by Barry Gough
Heritage House,
408 pages, \$32.95



Southern Vancouver Island had vast stands of massive trees, perfect for shipbuilding. It had plenty of coal, just the right thing for powering steam-powered vessels. And it had several protected harbours, offering ideal locations for a naval station.

British warships were active in the North Pacific for two decades, however, before someone connected the dots and decided that Esquimalt, British Columbia, made sense as the British navy's base on the

west coast of North America.

It took events elsewhere, primarily the Oregon crisis in the 1840s and the Crimean War in the 1850s, to motivate serious action in Esquimalt Harbour. A base on Vancouver Island would discourage the Americans from continuing to push their land claims farther and farther north. It would also provide vital access to the entire North Pacific.

The Esquimalt base was key to the history of the British navy in the Pacific, and it is also key to *Britannia's Navy on the West Coast of North America 1812-1914*, by Victoria historian Barry Gough.

This book is an expanded, updated, and much-improved version of a book Gough wrote in 1971. That one, *The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1914: A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy*, was based on Gough's Ph.D. thesis and had the distinction of being the first book published by UBC Press.

Many historians would love to have the chance to redo their most important works. New sources, new research methods, works by others, and even changes in the way we think can all make the original work less valuable with the passage of time.

Gough's work on the history of the British navy in the Pacific started long

before his first book was published. In the 1960s he did research in Britain's The National Archives, the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office, The British Library, the Royal Geographical Society, and the National Maritime Museum in London.

Britannia's Navy is an important book that touches on the history of the navy, the base at Esquimalt, the development of British Columbia, the struggle for control of the Pacific Northwest, and more. The book deals with several major events in naval history, including the War of 1812, the cries of "Fifty-four forty or fight," as well as the Pig War — the dispute over the San Juan Islands that was settled by the German kaiser.

For the century leading up to the First World War — the time period covered in this book — Britannia really did rule the waves, especially the Pacific waves. And its strong presence was based in large part on the naval station at Esquimalt.

After the British left Esquimalt in 1905, believing that higher priorities were closer to home, there was a sense in British Columbia that our defences had been abandoned. In reality, the Esquimalt base would not have been able to withstand an attack by the Americans, whether troops were based in Esquimalt or twenty days away in Hong Kong.

A few years later, Esquimalt became the base for the new Canadian navy. It continues to have strategic importance to Canada and for the entire Pacific Rim.

Gough has produced a readable, meticulously researched, and highly detailed book that includes a series of appendices listing the commanders and ships in service in these waters. More importantly, he has given us a sense of the people who made the decisions that shaped our history. That enables us to gain a better understanding of why they did what they did.

Britannia's Navy will help to inform researchers and scholars for decades to come. As well it should — after all, it is the product of a lifelong labour of love.

Reviewed by **Dave Obee**, a member of the board of Canada's History Society, the author of several books on history and genealogy, and the editor-in-chief of the *Times Colonist* in Victoria.

HER DARLING BOY

The letters of a mother, her beloved son,
and the heartbreaking cost of Vimy Ridge

GREAT PLAINS
PUBLICATIONS

GREATPLAINS.MB.CA

AVAILABLE AT FINE BOOKSTORES EVERYWHERE

MORE BOOKS

Her Darling Boy: The letters of a mother, her beloved son, and the heartbreaking cost of Vimy Ridge

by Tom Goodman

Great Plains Publications,

197 pages, \$29.95



The story of Private Archibald John Polson, like many stories from the First World War, is heartbreaking. The book *Her Darling Boy* is a collection of letters

to and from Polson's family during the war. Many of the letters are translated from Icelandic, and they've been collected by Tom Goodman on behalf of his great-uncle Archie — whom he never knew.

The letters provide a unique perspective into the Icelandic community in Manitoba during the war and portray the tragic situation faced by countless families of wounded soldiers as they waited for news from the front.

As we mark the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, Goodman wants Canadians to remember the devastating impact of the war on Canadian families. "I had an image of [my grandmother], after her death, scolding her Creator at Heaven's Gate, while a chastened God promised that one day He would use Archie's suffering to inform a future generation of Canadians about the tragedy of war — and to challenge those who glorify war."

Goodman's struggle to come to terms with the First World War remains Canada's struggle as well. — *Joel Ralph*

Black River Road: An Unthinkable Crime, an Unlikely Suspect, and the Question of Character

by Debra Komar

Goose Lane Editions, 220 pages, \$19.95



Black River Road tells the story of Sarah Margaret (Maggie) Vail, an unmarried woman who fell for a married man and had his child. Vail and her sister, Phileanor (Philly) Crear, first met John A. Monroe, a prominent Saint John archi-

tect, in 1865. Monroe set his sights on Crear, but when he determined she was married he turned his attentions to Vail.

At first he pretended to be a single man. However, when confronted by Crear Munroe told Vail the truth. "All Philly knew for certain," author Debra Komar writes, "was that in June 1867, Maggie found herself 'in the family way.'"

By the time of the baby's birth, the relationship had soured. The expense and possible scandal of an illegitimate child frustrated Munroe. As Komar writes, "She wanted more, he wanted out."

The saga takes a gruesome turn when the decomposed bodies of Vail and her daughter are discovered in 1869. After numerous twists and turns, Monroe is arrested and brought to trial.

Komar is a practising forensic anthropologist, and this is an engrossing book that weaves historical records into a fascinating story. Her research shows how Munroe's social status afforded him preferential treatment from both the legal system and the press. Komar notes that much has changed "of our class-based prejudices regarding crime, yet we still confuse morality with criminality." — *Beverley Tallon*

Remembered in Bronze and Stone: Canada's Great War Memorial Statuary

by Alan Livingstone MacLeod

Heritage House, 192 pages, \$24.95



They're found in almost every town, village, and city across the country. Most of us pass them by, never paying much mention except for once a year, on November 11, when some of us brave the fall chill to stand at attention and remember the sacrifices of our war dead.

War memorials sprang up across Canada in the wake of the Great War. And, after the Second World War, more names were etched into stone and metal as a way to make timeless the memory of those who had served and died.

In *Remembered in Bronze and Stone*, Alan Livingstone MacLeod presents a remarkable look at the many ways we honoured our war dead, and he explores the symbolism found

in these often lonely monuments. The book is the result of a cross-country trip MacLeod and his wife, Janice, undertook to visit as many war memorials as they could. Their journey was inspired by family stories of MacLeod's great-uncle, who fought in the First World War.

Dozens of colour photographs finely illustrate the meticulous care and craftsmanship that went into sculpting these memorials. Long after the two world wars, they remain standing as a reminders of the true human cost of war. — *Mark Collin Reid*

The Killer Whale Who Changed the World

by Mark Leiran-Young

Greystone Books, 199 pages, \$29.95



Moby Doll's story has been a passion for journalist and filmmaker Mark Leiren-Young for more than twenty years. The killer whale was captured by a July 1964 expedition led by Vancouver Public Aquarium director Murray Newman.

The day after the orca's capture for post-mortem study, an estimated twenty thousand people visited the temporary holding tank in Vancouver. Experts had believed that displaying a live killer whale was impossible. Yet Moby Doll survived in captivity for eighty-seven days, during which time, Leiren-Young writes, "the dangerous monster had become Vancouver's beloved killer whale."

Interest in orcas is high following the 2013 documentary *Blackfish* and SeaWorld's 2016 announcement about ending its orca breeding program. This book tells how the practice of capturing orcas began. Using newspaper reports and interviews with people who spent time with Moby Doll, Leiren-Young separates urban legend from the truth.

He also illustrates the impact Moby Doll's experience has had on both wild and captive orcas. Because Moby Doll survived for a time, the public was able to marvel at the "savage sea cannibal," and scientists gained valuable knowledge of killer whales.

After reading *The Killer Whale Who Changed the World*, readers will eagerly await Leiren-Young's forthcoming full-length film documentary on Moby Doll. — *Alison Nagy*



History on the go

Delivering Canada's stories to a growing digital audience. *by Janet Walker*

Our work to promote popular interest in Canadian history is inspired by conversations with our readers — a growing national community of people who appreciate the stories of our shared past.

Many of you respond to our stories and programs with thoughtful analyses, key questions, and fresh perspectives. You call to speak with us, send emails, and respond with comments on social media.

Our digital metrics counter the perception that history readers are predominately from an older generation. They confirm what our school and youth education programs tell us — that our readers include many young people, who are deeply engaged in reading about history and in

their own personal historical research.

Through digital and print media platforms, awards programs, educational outreach, and youth initiatives, we engage with a broad community that includes educators, students, historians, archivists, and readers of popular history.

Now, we are about to begin a new era of greater engagement. By the time this magazine reaches your hands, Canada's History Society will have launched a newly designed website — in English at CanadasHistory.ca and in French at HistoireCanada.ca.

The refreshed site — funded by the Department of Canadian Heritage, public donations, and other revenues — features big-

ger images, cleaner type, and easy navigation, and it optimizes our award-winning history content for a variety of mobile devices.

Our website has achieved significant audience growth over the years, with visitors spread among all age groups.

In 2016, CanadasHistory.ca and HistoireCanada.ca logged more than 750,000 online visitors and more than 2.2 million page views. Our online audience participates in educational and community-based webinars, including our current series, Treaties and the Treaty Relationship.

Created and co-hosted by the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba, with Canada's History Online Engagement Coordinator Jessica Knapp, the series promotes conversations from multiple perspectives, exploring historical and contemporary issues related to treaties.

Many of you have used our online presence to vote for Young Citizens digital video histories, or to nominate "Great Women," and all-time hockey greats. You have contributed stories and images to GreatWarAlbum.ca, our online archive of First World War stories, and followed us on Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. You have made valued donations that support our editorial and educational programs at CanadasHistory.ca/donate. You have explored Canada's rich music history via our new podcast, Sounds like History, a partnership between Canada's History and Library and Archives Canada.

We offer educators digital resources for the classroom, making articles, comics, and fictional stories available online.

Our 2016 history forum, Engaging Authentic Indigenous Histories, is featured in nine parts among our online videos to showcase storytellers and educators sharing their work and discussing history and reconciliation. Organized by Canada's History Society with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, the event was generously sponsored by the RBC Foundation.

Our mission is to make the discovery of our nation's past relevant, engaging, empowering, and accessible.

Thanks to our growing online platform, stories about our rich history are reaching more Canadians than ever before. 

Janet Walker is the President & CEO of Canada's History Society.



THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S HISTORY AWARD
FOR EXCELLENCE IN COMMUNITY PROGRAMMING



TWO RECIPIENTS RECEIVE \$2500
AND A TRIP FOR TWO TO OTTAWA TO
RECEIVE THEIR AWARD AT RIDEAU HALL

Eligible projects include community exhibitions,
oral histories, multimedia projects and more.



**DEADLINE FOR COMPLETED APPLICATIONS
IS JUNE 30, 2016. NOMINATE A PROJECT TODAY!**

CanadasHistory.ca/Awards/Community-Programming

CANADA'S
HISTORY



Regal offering

In 1959, six years after her coronation, Queen Elizabeth II visited Canada with Prince Philip for the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway. The couple stopped in Westmount, Québec — now part of Montréal — on June 25.

This photo was taken on the steps of city hall, where Westmount Mayor John Crosbie Cushing presented Her Majesty with the gift of a silver maple syrup jug that was specially made for the occasion.

The jug featured a label with both French and English, the coat of arms of Westmount, a fleur-de-lys representing Québec, and a

maple leaf for Canada. Also present (but not seen in the photo) was then Montréal Mayor Sarto Fournier.

The Queen and Prince Philip signed Westmount's "Golden Book" and waved to the crowd of three thousand onlookers. Many more people lined nearby streets, and Prince Philip gave a wave and a wink to a group of boys watching from a nearby rooftop.

The city of Westmount promised always to keep the royal syrup jug full, and starting in 1960 it has sent a new batch of syrup to Buckingham Palace each year. 🍷

Submitted by Anthony Chiasson of Westmount, Québec.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be cropped or adjusted as necessary for presentation in the magazine. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Open to the public.
And interpretation.



Pitseolak Qimirpik, Cape Dorset Artist

See Inuit Art in a whole new light.

With a mix of both traditional and contemporary works, the TD Gallery of Inuit Art is a fascinating look at life in the Canadian Arctic and the people who call it home – a collection so indigenous, it at once honours the country's past and informs its future. Perhaps the only thing more Canadian is the fact that it's open to all, free of charge, seven days a week.

Visit the gallery at **79 Wellington St. West** in Toronto.



HUDSON'S BAY



To celebrate the country's 150th year, Hudson's Bay's gift to Canada reflects our shared history and legacy.

This year, we're bringing everyone together to connect the remaining 2,200 kilometres of **The Great Trail**, Canada's cross-country network of recreational trails. A reflection of Canada's diversity, magnitude and beauty, **The Great Trail** crosses streams and rivers and spans cities and wilderness, connecting all Canadians. To help complete our goal, we've created a limited-edition collection, the proceeds of which support the HBC Foundation's Grand Portage program.

Much like our earliest adventurers paddled and portaged across this land, we now return to this iconic means of travel, the canoe: we're sending new adventurers off on a Grand Portage.

It's a new adventure that all of Canada can help us complete, starting today.

LET'S CONNECT CANADA TOGETHER.

To learn more about this adventure, including more ways to donate, visit hbgrandportage.ca

#HBGrandPortage

